

**ORIENTAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE
LIBRARY**

ACCESSION No 25130



CALL No 85.2073/1311

**SRI VENKATESWARA UNIVERSITY
TIRUPATI**

STUDIES IN THE TANTRAS

STUDIES IN THE TANTRAS

PART I

BY

PRABODH CHANDRA BAGCHI, M A , DR ES LETTRES (PARIS)

LECTURER, CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY



PUBLISHED BY THE
UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA
1939

PRINTED IN INDIA

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY BHUPINDI ALAI BANERJEE
AT THE CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY PRESS, SENATE HOUSE CALCUTTA

Reg No 886B—October, 1939—E

CONTENTS

	Page
Preface	vi
On some Tantrik texts studied in Ancient Kambuja .	1
Further notes on Tantrik texts studied in Ancient Kambuja	16
The Sandhābhāsā and Sandhāvacana	27
On the Sāadhanamālā	34
On Foreign element in the Tantra	45
Some Technical terms of the Tantras	61
Some aspects of Buddhist mysticism in the Carvāpadas	74
Notes on the word Perāṇṭṭi	87

APPENDIX

Detailed Notices on Manuscripts—

I	<i>Nisrāsa tattva Samhitā</i>	93
II	<i>Sammoha Tantra</i>	96
III	<i>Brahmayāmala</i>	102
IV	<i>Pingalāmata</i>	105
V	<i>Jayadrathayāmala</i>	109

PREFACE

The present book is a collection of articles which were published in the *Indian Historical Quarterly* and the *Calcutta Oriental Journal* between 1930 and 1934. They contain the results of my examination of manuscripts of the Nepal Darbar Library collection in 1929. I have thought it fit to publish them together in the form of a book as my future studies in the Tantras will follow the lines suggested therein. As many of the manuscripts referred to in the articles have little chance of being edited and published for a long time to come, I have added in an appendix detailed notices on them.

CALCUTTA, }
September, 1939 }

P. C. BAGCHI

I

22 77 քա ձով ու հետո արժի արժիտու և A XXVI XXIX

long ago by the kings of Bhavapura (founded by Bhavavarman who was ruling about the middle of the 6th century) He was the guardian priest of a *śivalinga* installed in a temple in that village Śivakaivalya, chosen as the priest by the new king, subsequently accompanied him to different cities founded by the latter Now, a Brahmin named Hanyadāma came from Janapada (supposed to be some place in India) to the court of the new king Jayavarman and began to exercise a great spiritual influence on him The king then authorised him to teach the new lore to Śivakaivalya, and to initiate the latter to the new cult Then Hanyadāma gave Śivakaivalya—*Śivascheda*, *Vināśilha*, *Sammoha* and *Nayottara*—the four *sāstras* which were the four faces of Tumvuru Śivakaivalya was also initiated to the cult of *Devaiāja* (*Kamraten Jagut ta rāja* in Cambodian) Thus was the new cult introduced in Kambuja The king Jayavarman, much attracted by it accepted it as the religion of the kingdom, and ordered that the *yatis* of the *mātrvamsa*¹ of Śivakaivalya only would be the legitimate guardians of this cult and would have the power to perpetuate it in future

The *Devaiāja* was a *śivalinga* and it was one of the most celebrated deities of Kambuja But nothing is known as to the four "*sāstras*" mentioned which prescribed this cult Dr B R Chatterji is the first to make some suggestions about their identification² He relies on the information supplied by Avalon,³ and says, 'There were three regions each with its special Tantras and that among the Tantras of the *visnukrāntā* region (which includes Bengal and extends to Chittagong) the names of the *Sammohana* and the *Niruttara* Tantras approach very closely to the titles of two (out of four) of the Tantras (*Sommoha* and *Nayottara*) taught by Hanyadāma The Tantras *Mundamālā* and *Chinnamastā* mean (as far as the names go) almost the same thing as *Śivascheda*—the third text taught to the Kambuja priest The word Tumvuru (of which, according to the inscriptions, the four texts constitute the four faces) is the name of a *gandharva*, and there is a *Gandharva Tantra* in the *Visnukrāntā* group''

¹ BEFEO, XV, pp 70-71

- (1) *tan mātrvamse yatayas striyo vā
gātā vi(dyā vi)kṛa(ma) yukta-bhāvah ||*
(2) *tad yājakās syuṇ na kathañcid anya
iti kṣitīndra-dvija halpanāsīt || B XXXI*

² Indian Cultural Influence in Cambodia, Calcutta 1929, pp 273-4

³ Arthur Avalon, *Principles of Tantra*, I, Intro, pp lxxv-lxxvi

The classification, according to the *krāntīs*, is not seen in the oldest Tāntrik texts, for example the *Īśvaraśāstra*, as far as I know. On the other hand, such classification seems to be arbitrary and of late origin. The names of 64 *Tāntṛas* attributed to each of these *krāntīs* seem to be fictitious to some extent. So they do not throw much light on the texts introduced into Kambuja in the beginning of the 9th century A.D. It is therefore necessary to go back to older and more authentic sources.

According to the oldest traditions known to me¹ the Tāntrik literature is classified according to the *Śrotas* (=current, tradition), *pīṭhas* and *āmnāyas*. The *Śrotas* or currents are three fold: *nakṣatra* (right) *vāma* (left) and *madhyama* (middle). There are the three energies (*śakti-trayaṃ*) of Śiva. Besides these three currents which issue from Śiva, we have reference to other currents like *Bhāṣya-sruti* from which distinctive Tāntṛas have issued forth. The classification into *pīṭhas* is four fold: *vidyāpīṭha*, *mantrapīṭha*, *mudrāpīṭha* and *mandalapīṭha*. The third classification, viz., that into *āmnāyas*, is more common than the first two. The number of *āmnāyas* varies. But generally they are accepted to be five in number, issuing from the five mouths of Śiva.² Śiva is represented as having four faces turning towards the four cardinal points and one on the top. The eastern (*pūrva-mukha*) spoke the Vedas, the western (*pascima*), southern (*dakṣiṇa*), northern (*uttara*) and the upper (*ūrdhva*) mouths spoke the different kinds of Tāntṛas. There is no trace of any classification according to the *krāntīs*. The faces of Śiva represent his five aspects. They are known as *Vāmadeva*, *Tatpuruṣa*, *Aghora*, *Sadyojāta* and *Īśāna* facing the north, east, south, west and top and representing the aspects of *Īśa*, *Īśāna*, *Īśvara*, *Brahmā* and *Sadāśiva* respectively. The original Śaiva canon, the *āgamas*, are classified according to the faces which proclaimed them (see *Hindu Iconography*, II, Pt II, pp 366 ff). We should note in this connection that the *Sadyojāta* mouth which represents the *Brahmā* aspect is the western face, and naturally proclaims the *Pascumāmnāya*.

One of the oldest Tāntrik texts preserved in the Nepal Darbar Library is the *Nisvāsataṭṭva-Samhitā* written in the Gupta script of the

¹ This discussion is mainly based on the 39th chapter of the *Brahmayamala* called *Srotanurnaya*. The MS of this *yamala* which I have examined is that preserved in the Nepal Darbar Library. It was copied in the Nepal Sam. 172=1052 A.D.

² Bhāṣaka Rāya in his commentary on the *Vanakesvara Tantra* (see *Ānandasram Ed.*, p. 24) quotes from Bhagavān Parasurama: "*Pañcamnāyāṃ paramārtha-sararūpaṃ pramāṇam* ity."

8th century A D ¹ It is a collection of five *sūtras* which form a complete whole but each may be also counted separately and has its own chapters. These five *sūtras* are (1) *Laṅkā dhāma*, (2) *Mūlasūtra*, (3) *Uttarasūtra*, (4) *Nayasūtra* and (5) *Guhyasūtra*. The last of these five is more extensive than the others together and the first *Laṅkā dhāma* is really ignored by the text itself in counting on folio 27b of the text.

*prathamam mūlasūtrāntu dvitīyam ādisamjñitam ।
trītiyam prathamam nāma catuṛtham pūrvāsūtrākaṃ ॥*

Thus the four texts are called (1) *Mūlasūtra*, (2) *Ādisūtra* = *Uttarasūtra*, (3) *Prathama* = *Nayasūtra*, (4) *Pūva* = *Guhyasūtra*. The *Uttarasūtra* contains the names of 18 old *Siva sāstras*.

*viṣayam prathamam [hy e]sām nīsvāsam tadānantaram ।
svāyambhuvam atah caiva vāthulam tadānantaram ॥
vīrabhadram itī khyātam raṇavam mākutās tathā ।
vīrasam candrāhāsam ca jñānam ca mukhavimbakam ॥
prodgītam lakṣaṇam caiva siddha santānam eva ca ।
sarvodgītam ca viṣṇeyam kīraṇam pārameśvaram ॥ (fol 241)*

The same list with some slight variations is given by the *Brahmayāmala* of which a MS written in 1052 A D is preserved in the Darbar Library ². In the 39th chapter (fol 869b) we find mention of the following texts.

*viṣayam caiva nīsvāsam svāyambhuvam atah param ।
vāthulam [vīrabhadram ca raṇavam mākutāstathā] ॥
vīrasa ca tathā cānyam tata ūrdhvam nibodhata ।
candrajñānaṇ ca prodgītam lakṣam tathā ॥
siddhisattvānakam caiva sarvodgītam atah param ।
kīraṇam ca mahādevī pārameśvara eva ca ॥*

The second list is corrupt to some extent, though the MS of the *Brahmayāmala* which we have examined is generally a very correct one. Apparently the tradition about these texts was more living in the time

¹ The Exalted Raj Guru Hemarāja Sarmā who has handled these MSS for a long time is also of the same opinion. Mahāmahopādhyāya H P Śāstrī has noticed it in his catalogue, *Darbar Library Cat*, Vol I, p 187. In his introduction to the Catalogue, p lxxvii, he also says that this MS "is written in transitional Gupta character which may be a century older than the *Paramesvara Tantra* copied in 859 A D."

² See H P Śāstrī, *Nepal Darbar Library Catalogue*, II, p 60.

when the *Nisvāsātattva-Samhitā* was composed, but it was not so when the *Brahmayāmala* was copied. In the interval the Tāntrik literature had become a fairly extensive one. The Tantras which were therefore considered to be authoritative in the 8th century and even prior to it were (1) *Viṣaya*, (2) *Nisvāsa*, (3) *Svāyambhūramata*, (4) *Īātṇula*, (5) *Virabhadra*, (6) *Raviṣa*, (7) *Māhuta*, (8) *Viṣa*, *Viṣa* (?), (9) *Candrabhāsa Candia* (?), (10) *Jñāna*, (11) *Mukharimbhāsa*, *Vimba* (?), (12) *Prodgita*, (13) *Lalita*, (14) *Siddhi*, (15) *Santāna*, *Sattvāna* (?), (16) *Sarvoddhita*, (17) *Kirana*, (18) *Parameśvara* ¹

The second text of the list, the *Nisvāsa*, seems to be the same as the *Nisvāsātattva-Samhitā*. We have already noticed that the independent chapter-division of the 4 *sūtras* constituting the text points to the fact that they were studied separately. The word *samhitā* also may indicate that it was simply a compilation of different texts. Amongst the four texts, the *ādi* and the *prathama* are the *Uttara* and *Naya-sūtras*. Their very position in the traditional computation *mūla*, *ādi*, *prathama* and *pūrva* point out to their intimate mutual relation. It seems quite probable that they together constituted our *Nayottara* introduced in Kambhja in the beginning of the 9th century (802 A.D.). The contents of these two *sūtras* amply show that they were indispensable for the guidance of the priests. We can understand from them how the *Nayottara* could be useful to Śivakaivalya of Kambhja for conducting the newly introduced cult of Devaīāja. The *Uttara sūtra* has five sections (i) *śiṣyāyasthāpana*, *mātrikā*, *homa*, (ii) and (iii) *abhiseka* and *dīkṣā*, (iv) and (v) *jñānayoga*. The *Nayasūtra* has 4 sections (i) *yāsa praharāna* (*yāga*-?), (ii) *praharicāra*, (iii) *nūparicāra*, (iv) *paramāmṛta-sadbhāricāra* (cf. also Śāstrī, *Darbar Library Catalogue*, I, pp. 138 f., his notice is however incomplete). Their date of composition cannot be ascertained at present. But it was certainly composed long before the date of compilation of the four texts together, which also was done much earlier than the date of copying the present text. Thus roughly it may be said that the *Nayottara-sūtras* were

¹ The same list occurs also in the *Kamukāgama* (p. 1), published from Madras by Alagappa Mudaliar. Cf. Also Gopināth Rao, *Hindu Iconography*, II, Part I, pp. 367-68. Some of these texts exist in very old MSS. The *Kirana* and *Parameśvara tantra* are preserved in Nepal. The *Kirana* was found by H. P. Śāstrī in a private collection at Bhatgaon. The MS. is very old and was copied in 924 A.D. See *Darbar Library Catalogue*, II, pp. xxiv and 99. The *Parameśvaramatatantra* is preserved in the Darbar Library. That MS. was copied between the 11th and 12th century A.D. (Śāstrī, *ibid.*, pp. xxi and 46). Prof. Bendall mentions an older MS. of that tantra copied in 859 A.D. preserved in the University Library, Cambridge.

composed in the 6th and 7th centuries A D , and compiled with the other two texts in the 7th and 8th centuries A D

The *Brahmayāmala* (*loc cit*) says that the *Nisvāsa* and the other Tantras mentioned above came out of the middle current and were communicated by the upper mouth of Siva (*madhyasrota-sambhūtā mūhvarukhrāt vinigatā*). In another place (fol 200a) the *Brahmayāmala* distinctly says that the three texts known as *Sammoha*, *Nayottara* and *Srascheda* issued from the left current (*vāmasrotas*)

*Sammohaṇ ca tathā proktam tathā caiva Nayottaram ।
[Sraschedam]¹ tathā proktam vāmasrotād vinigatam ॥*

The same texts are also mentioned in a supplement to the *Brahmayāmala* namely the *Jayādīpikayāmala* (*Sūstī*, I, Ch 40, see *infra*)

*savyasrotasī siddhāni srascheda² bhayātmakam ।
nayottaram mahāaudiam mahāsammoḥanam tathā ।
trīkam etat mahādevī vāmasrotasī nigatam ।*

The fact that the *Nayottara* is here attributed to the *vāmasrotas* (left current) whereas elsewhere it is, as a part of the *Nisvāsatantra* attributed to the *madhyama-srotas* (middle current) should not be considered as a serious obstacle in accepting the identification proposed. We have actually mention of texts coming out of the combined current of *vāma-madhyamayā* (*Vāmamadhyamayā caiva cōḍitena tatharva hr—Brahmayāmala*, fol 200a). There are reasons to believe that the classification according to *srotas* was not very well defined.

The manuscripts already discussed, as we have seen, mention two other texts, *viz*, the *Sammoha* and the *Srascheda* of the 4 texts introduced in Kambuḥ. We should not therefore suppose that the 18 texts mentioned in the *Nisvāsatantra* list were the only Tāntrik texts known in India in the 8th century A D. According to the *Brahmayāmala* we are led to believe that these were the texts handed down by one tradition only, that of the *madhyasrotas*. The same text refers to the *Yāmala*s coming out from the Bhairava tradition *Bhairava-srotas*. These *yāmala*s are (1) *Rudra*, (2) *Kaṇḍa* (= *Shanda*) (3) *Brahma*, (4) *Viṣṇu*, (5) *Yama*, (6)

¹ Though this portion is indistinct in the MS the reading is supported by the text of the supplement, which repeats the same tradition.

² It is evidently a mistake of the copyist for *srascheda*.

Vāyu, (7) *Kṛīṣṇa*, (8) *Indra*¹ It is true that these *Yāmalas* are not mentioned in the *Nisvāsa-tantra*, but in the *Brahmayāmala* of which we get a MS copied in 1052 A.D. So they all had come into existence long before this last date. But it is possible to determine the date of their composition more precisely.

The *Brahmayāmala* has its supplements and two of them are preserved in the Darbar Library—(1) *Pīṅgalāmata*, (2) *Jayadrathayāmala*. The latter is a very extensive work containing about 24,000 slokas divided into 4 *sāthas* of 6,000 *Slokas* each. The MS of the *Pīṅgalāmata* was copied in the Nepal Samv. 294=1174 A.C. There can be no doubt about the fact that it is a supplement² to the *Brahmayāmala* and is connected with the *Jayadratha*. In the very first chapter of the *Pīṅgalāmata* (fol. 26) it is said *asya tantrasya Pīṅgalāmatasamjñā Pratisthā' alpam Janadrathādihikṛīṣṇam Brahmayāmalasya anuyāti, Pīṅgalābhāttārīkāyāh nimitam*. The *Pīṅgalāmata* therefore presupposes the existence of the *Jayadrathayāmalam* and professes to be inspired by the *Brahma*. The *Jayadratha* was therefore written long before 1174 A.D. Though the two MSS (*sāthas* I and II) noticed by H. P. Śāstrī are of the 16th and 17th centuries².

- 1 *Pratyāmala* ch. 11 *Srotanurnaga* fol. 169a
Rudrayāmalam anyan ca tathā vai Kanlayāmalam |
Brahmayāmalam am caiva Udayāmalam eva ca ||
Yamayāmala am cānyam Vidyayāmalam eva ca |
Kuśerayāmalam caiva Indrayāmalam eva ca ||
Dhīraśāstāśāstam etat Vidyāpīṭhaḍ vīṃrgatam |
Yamalanī tathā cāstau nīrgatāni na samsayah ||

The names of the eight Bhairavas also mentioned in this connection, are *Sacchanda Bhairava*, *Krodha°*, *Unmatta°*, *Ugra*, *Kapālī°*, *Jhankāra*, *Sehhara°*, *Vijaya°*.

² Of the *sāthas* of this text, preserved in the Darbar Library, Śāstrī has noticed only two I and II. The MS of the *sātha* I is dated in Nepal Sam. 843=1723 A.D. (and not Nepal Sam. 847 as stated by Śāstrī, *Darbar Library Cat.*, II, p. 1) and the MS of the *sātha* II is dated N. S. 762=1642 A.D. The writing of *sātha* III appears to be of the same period but the *sātha* IV is preserved in an older MS. The colophon of this MS (fol. 939b 940a) runs thus —

*adhigate sahalasāstrasya yogmūṇḍavandītacaranayugālasya—vīṇḍhavidyavīdyotitām
 tatī arānasya—mahākaruṇīkasya—mahārājādharājasrīmājjayacandradevapūjītasya Kulācār
 =yasrīdharanīpāḍevanamādheyasya śrīyena paṇḍitāśrījomāderena likhītam iti*

Jayacandra here mentioned seems to be the same as king Jayacandra of Kanauj who fell before the Muhammadans towards the end of the 12th century. The MS. was therefore

The *Jayadrathayāmala* is distinctly called *Śivascheda*. We have already discussed the texts which mention *Śivascheda* as being handed down by the left current (*īrmasīotas*) and communicated by the *vāmavalīta* (the mouth turning towards the left). All the colophons of the *Jayadrathayāmala* run thus

*iti Bhairavasīotasī vidyāpīṭhe Śivaschede Śrī Jayadrathayāmala-
mahātāntīe caturvimsutisukhasre Śrīkālasamkarsanyām, etc (cf
Śāstri, loc cit)*

The frame work of the present tantra is as follows, "Jayadratha the husband of Durvadhana's sister and the king of Sindhudesa renounced the world and settled at Vadamkāśīrama in the Himālayas for the purpose of practising austerities. He propitiated the goddess Pārvatī who introduced him to Śiva. The interlocution between these three is the substance of the Tantra. The first question asked was the nature of Mukti (salvation) which was explained according to the *Sāṅkhya* system but Śiva said that the telling on *īrasī* the formula of *Kālasamkarsanī* was the easiest and the shortest way to salvation" (Śāstri, *Darbar Library Catalogue*, II, p. 2). As regards the names mentioned in the colophon Śāstri remarked in 1905 (*Catalogue*, I, p. xii) that these are "a string of names, the import of which, if it existed at all, is lost" but in 1915 (*Catalogue*, II, p. 114) in connection with the *Tattvasadbhāvatānta* he explains them thus, "It is called *Bhānavasīotas* because Bhānava is the speaker and his speech began after he had snatched away the topmost head of Brahman and put it above his four heads. It is called *Vidyāpīṭha* (sic *vidyāpīṭha*) because it treats of the goddess *Sundarī*" But this explanation is not quite correct.

(i) *Bhānavasīotas*, as we have already seen, means the Bhānava current or tradition. There are 8 Bhānavas from whom emanate the 8 *yāmala*s. So other Tantras of the *Bhānavasīotas* either must have been supplements to these 8 *yāmala*s or inspired by them. The *Jayadrathayāmala* emanates from the same Bhānava (*viz*, the *Unmatta Bhānava*) who narrated the *Brahmayāmala*. Bhānava is conceived as an aspect of Śiva.

(ii) We have already discussed the significance of the 4 *pīṭha*s. *Vidyāpīṭha* is that method of *sādhana* which relies on the *vidyā* or *mantras*

copied either towards the end of that century or the beginning of the 18th century A.D. The script supports it. The Rajguru Hemarāja Śarmā would attribute to the script used in this MS a *Kanaujīyā* character ((*Kānyakubjīya srotas*))

In the case of the *Jayadrathayāmala* and the *Kṛtīśaśanānandamānī* which is of importance

(ii) The significance of Śivascheta is still unknown to me. I have not been able to trace the explanation offered by Śāstri anywhere in the texts but some Pandits of Nepal who are acquainted with the Tantras confirm his explanation. Some of the Purāṇas indeed preserve the story of Śiva's cutting the head of Brahmā, but in a little different way. In the *Kūmapurāṇa* it is stated that Brahmā was once boasting himself as the greatest God in the universe. Śiva appeared on the scene and claimed that position for himself. Brahmā was, however, obstinate. Thereupon Śiva got angry and ordered his Bhairava to cut off that head of Brahmā which was reviling him. Śiva thereby committed a sin of which he got rid by going on pilgrimage to Benares. The story of this rivalry between Brahmā, Śiva, and also Viṣṇu is told also in the *Liṅgapurāṇa*, *Kūmapurāṇa* and *Sivapurāṇa*. In those texts, however, there is no question of cutting the head of Brahmā, Śiva establishes his superiority over the other two as the greatest architect of the universe and proves that Brahmā and Viṣṇu are only his different aspects (see Gopinath Rao *Hindu Iconography*, Vol. II, Part I, p. 105 ff. and p. 296 ff.). The same story, evidently taken from the Purāṇas, is told by Alberuni (Sachau, II, p. 147), "Brahman was in shape four-headed. Now there happened some quarrel between him and Śankara, i.e., Mahādeva—and the succeeding fight had this result that one of the heads of Brahman was torn off. Thus the head of Brahman was dishonoured by the hand of Mahādeva, who took it always with him wherever he went and whatever he did. After he had entered Benares the head dropped from his hand and disappeared." This is briefly the story about Śiva's cutting the head of Brahmā, but I have not yet found any reference to Śiva's putting it on his own hand and communicating a class of Tantras through it. But it seems probable that the legend has some bearing on the *Sadyojāta* (lit. just-born) face of Śiva, which represents his Brahmā aspect and through which he narrated some Tantras (see Gopinath Rao, *loc. cit.*, Part II, pp. 366-77).

It is now quite clear that the *Jayadrathayāmala* is a *Śivascheta* text. Not only the colophons of the text but the text itself clearly speak of it. Thus towards the end of the *Satka* III, (fol. 215a) we find the following text —

*Evam etan mayākhyātam tantram etad anuttamam ।
Vasisthena purādhītam naranūāyanair api ॥*

Brahmanā matsamīpe tu śraśchedam mahābalaṃ ।

Brahmanīragunāhīnam tavādya prahatīritam ॥

Here the text is quite clear about the identity of the *Śraścheda* and the *Jayadrathayāmala*. Now the *Jayadrathayāmala*, as we have seen, is mentioned in the *Piṅgalāmata* (of which we have a MS dated 1174 A D), and apparently in the existing version of the *Brahmayāmala* (Chap 39 fol 169a) as “*caturṣaṣṭakāśchedas tv*” (This MS of *Brahma* is dated 1052 A D). A part of the *Jayadratha* itself is preserved in a MS of the 12th-13th century A D. If we admit that it is this *Śraścheda* which was taken to Kambuja in the beginning of the 9th century (802 A D) then the date of its composition would go back to the 8th century A D, and necessarily the earlier versions of the *Brahmayāmala* and other *yāmalas* would go back to a still older period.

An apparently later tradition mentions another work as *Śraścheda*. It is the *Karavīṇayoga*, also called *Parātantra*. A MS of the *tantra* written in Saka year 1681 (1603 A D) is preserved in the Darbar Library. The colophons of some of its chapters are to be noticed in this connection.

fol 21b—*iti śrīmahāśrīrotaś śraśchede karavīṇayoge parātantrīe krama (?) dvādasasāhasikāyām kālīkṛāmanūyanayusūtram,*

fol 25a—*iti śrībhairavasrotaś śraśchede karavīṇayoge parātantrīe paramārthanūyanak,*

fol 30a—*iti śrībhairavasrotaś śraśchede mahākāravīṇayoge parātantrīe kālī kulakṛāmah samāptak*

On fol 1a the following words are put into the mouth of the goddess

Sarvasrotodbhavam jñānam tvā[m] prasādā[d] brutam mayā ।

yāmalāstakapurvantu tattvāny ekavīdhānīta (?) ॥

śraśchedas ca bahudhā mahā santhāna-śaṭkham ।

parātantram ca cithāra (phetkāra ?) sāgarāmbhāmāhāsanam ॥

caturvimsati vaś laksāḥ sarvena tu dhārini[?] ॥

¹ *Karavīṇa* means a cremation ground, cf. Hemacandra's *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi*, IV 55—“*śmaśānaṃ karavīṇam syātī*”. But the word is also used as the name of particular *śmaśāna* at least in two places. In Nepal a *śmaśāna* was known as *karavīra* (cf. S. Lévi, *Le Népal*, I^r, p. 282). In the Tibetan texts we find *Karavīra* as the name of a *Vihāra* in the city of Mālapura (Mangalapura?) in Uddiyāna (*Pag Sam Jon Zang*, p. 137, Index, III, cf. also Taranāth, tr. Schiefner, p. 324). It seems probable that in Uddiyāna also there was a particular cremation ground with that name which has been wrongly called a *vihāra*. Some Tāntṛic practices were to be performed only in the *śmaśānas*. Traces of such practices are also found in Buddhist sources. Cf. *Lankāvatāra* (Nanjo), p. 308—

śūnyāgare śmaśāne vā vrksamūle guhāsu vā ।

palāle bhayalakṣe ca yogī vāsam prakalpauet ॥

In this list the *Karāṇīyogya* apparently mentions the texts of the school to which it belongs. It mentions the original *Srīraschela* and the *śāhāsantārasatī* etc. The text here referred to seems to be no other than the *Jayadrathayāmala* containing the extensive *sāra*. Thus it is evident that the original *Srīraschela* text was the same as the *Jayadrathayāmala*. The *Karāṇīyogya* apparently drew its inspiration from that text.

We have already seen that the *Jayadrathayāmala* came out either of the *vāmasīkṣā* or the *vāmanādhyaṃsīkṣā*. We should also consider it to be issuing from the *vāmanādhyaṃsīkṣā* which was communicated by the western mouth *Pascimaratī* because the *Jayadrathayāmala* itself speaks of its western origin [cf. *Sūkta* III fol. 215a *śāhāsa* (?) *pascimajānma jñātāyam nārasattamaḥ*]. We have also seen that it is the *sadyojāta* face (= *Brahmā*) which turns westward. Thus we understand why the *Jayadrathayāmala*, communicated by the *pascimaratī*, is called *śrīraschela*.

As regards the third text the *Sammoha* introduced in Kambuja in 802 A.D. nothing can be definitely stated at the present moment. We have already discussed the references to this text in the *Brahmayāmala* (MS. copied in 1052 A.C.). There is no doubt that the *Sammoha* (var. *Sammohāra*) mentioned therein was the same as that introduced into Kambuja. So it was known in India long before 802 A.D. when it was taken to Kambuja. It is difficult to determine if this *Sammoha* had anything to do with the *Sammohanatantra* we get at present. One *Sammohanatantra*, as has been already pointed out by Dr. Chatterji, is attributed to the *Viśṇuvāntā* region. A *Sammohanatantra* belongs to the *Rāhuvāntā* region (see Avalon, *Principles of Tantra*, I, 115, 116). We have besides a *Sammohanatantra* preserved in a late MS. in the Darbar Library. Śāstri (*Catalogue*, II, p. 183) also has noticed this MS. as a new one. The text is written in incorrect Sanskrit. All these texts of the *Sammohanatantra* might have been inspired by the original *Sammohanatantra* which still remains to be discovered.

On the last and the 4th text taken to Kambuja in 802 A.D., viz., the *Viṇāśikha*, no light can be thrown at present. In the *Jayadrathayāmala* (*Sāṭa* I) we find a list of Bhairavas who had attained success through the *Kālasamharsanī vidyā*. Amongst these Bhairavas we find the names of *Śikhā* and *Viṇāśikha* Bhairavas. There are *tantras* issuing from some of the *Bhairavas* of this list. There is the name

of *Phetlāri Bhairava* from whom issued the *Phetlāra tantra*. Consequently we are justified in supposing that there was a *tantra* named *Vināsikha tantra* which was connected with the name of *Vināsikha Bhairava*. If this identification is accepted then the *Vināsikha tantra* was intimately connected with the *Svascheda*, i.e., the *Jayadrathayāmala* as the Kambuja inscription also would make us believe.

The texts thus being identified, it remains to be seen which is the god mentioned as *Tumburu* and why are the four texts called "the four faces of Tumburu". Dr Chatterji says that Tumburu is the name of a Gandharva and thinks that he had something to do with the *Gandharva tantra*. But the context has no bearing on any *tantra* connected with the name of *Tumburu*. The inscription would have us believe that all the four texts were connected with that god. Tumburu or Tumburu is recorded in all the lexicons as the name of a Gandharva but no detailed information is available on him. It is the name of one of the Yaksa worshippers of the Jina (see Hemacandra, *Abhidhāna-cintāmaṇi*, I, 41, where the commentator explains the word as *tumburu ardati vighnān tumburuk*). The Buddhist texts mention him as the king of the Gandharvas. Thus in the *Mahāsamaya Suttanta* (*Dialogues of Buddha*, Part 3, p. 288) amongst the Gandharva chieftains are mentioned Pañcasikha and Suriyavaccasā, the daughter of Timbaru. Then again in the *Sakkapañña suttanta* (*ibid.*, pp. 302, 303) Buddha being enchanted by the music of Pañcasikha questions him, whereupon the latter tells him the story of his love for Bhaddā Suriyavaccasā, the daughter of Timbaru, the king of the Gandhabbas. In the story Pañcasikha figures as a great musician who had a lyre of yellow *Belura* wood. The Gandhabba Timbaru is also mentioned in the *Pāsādikasuttanta*. In the Chinese translations of these Sūtras the name of the Gandharva is transcribed as *Tan-feou-lu* = *tām-bieu-ru = *tamburu and as *Teou-feou-lou* = *Teu-bieu-ru = *tu(m)buru [cf. *Tripitaka*, New Tokyo Ed., Vol. I, pp. 80, 633]. These forms show that in the corresponding Chinese versions the names presuppose the forms *Tamburu*, and *Tumburu*, and not *Timburi* as preserved in the Pāli texts. The *Mahābhārata* refers to Tumburu on several occasions. In *Ādi-parva* (65.51) *supriyā cātibāhus ca vikhyātāu ca hāhā hūhūh | Tumburus ceti cātīrāh smrtāh Gandharvasattamāh ||* and again *Ādi* (159.54) *Gandharvāḥ sahataḥ śrīmān prāgāyatas ca Tumburuk*. In the first verse Tumburu is evidently used as a general designation of the four Gandharvas. *Supriyā*, *Atibāhu*, *Hāhā*, *Hūhū*, whereas in the

second verse it is used in all appearance as the name of the deity. Gandharva, who was a musician. Whatever it may be, the number four seems to have been connected with the name of Tumburu, though it is difficult to determine at present whether it was originally the generic name of the four Gandharvas or the name of a particular Gandharva with four faces¹. But there is no doubt that Tumburu was *par excellence* a musician. He is mentioned as an authority on the musical science.

The *Srngāvalōka*, while mentioning the old authorities on music, cites the name of Tumburu. These authorities are (1) Brāhmā, (2) Śiva, (3) Nandikesvara, (4) Śivā, (5) Rambhā, (6) Tumburu, etc. (*Srīnandikesvara śrīrāmbhāśhātā tumburāh of Śāstīr, Catalogue*, Vol II, p 72, and also Introduction, xxx). These are the names of gods who revealed music to the mortals. Nandikesvara is another name of Śiva, Tumburu is a Gandharva. A stringed musical instrument, *Tamburā* is connected with his name. Though

¹ There seems to have been a time when Śiva was four faced. The Mahābhārata preserves its traces (*Andasānū, 121, 5* and *Uttara Parva, 10. 10*). Śiva tells Umā that it was so many to see her as he became the local brahministic power.

tām didṛśsu aham yogacaturmarititām agatam |
caturmūlhas ca samṛitto darsayan yogam uttamam ||
pūreṇa vadanenāham maraṭram anusasmitaḥ |
uttareṇa trayā sārḍham ramāmy aham amudāe ||
pascimam ne mūlham sruṇvāṇi sarāprāṇi ukṛvāhaṇaḥ |
dakṣiṇam bhūmasankā amṛandram samharati prajāḥ ||

In the *Ādiparva* (216 sls 22-28 Cal Ed) Mahesvara is stated to have done the same thing, i.e., assumed four faces through *yoga* to see the newly created Tilottamā from all sides—“*evam caturmukhaḥ śhānūr mahādevo'bhavāt pura*. In the sculptural representation also, though Mahādeva should have, according to comparatively late texts, five faces, the figures of the four faced Śiva are not rare. Gopinath Rao in his *Hindu Iconography* (Vol II, Part II pl cxv and p 373) reproduces the image of Sadāśiva coming from Ellora. The image has four faces. Mr Rao for making it agree with traditional form of Śiva says that “The figure has four faces and since all its arms are broken, it is not possible to say how many it originally possessed”. But there is no mark of a broken face and there is no difficulty in admitting that it was from the beginning four faced. At Yun Kang in North China, in the Buddhist sculpture which was directly inspired by Indian art there is a representation of Mahesvara with four faces. It belongs to the 5th-6th centuries A.D. Mahesvara is sitting on a bull. The four faces are turning to four directions. Somebody is standing near him carrying a trident (*trisūla*). See Siren, *Chinese Sculpture*, Vol II, pl 34.

there is no definite text to fall back on, still it seems probable that Tumburu was no other than *Śiva* himself. Both of them are represented as having four faces, and both of them are authorities on music. If this identification is accepted then a new light can be thrown on the text of the inscription of Sdok Kak Thom. The four tantras *Sīrascheda*, *Pināsikha*, *Summoha* and *Nayottara* are said to be *Tumburu* or *vaktṛacatuṣṭam*, not because they constituted the four faces of that god but because they issued forth from, or were communicated by, his four mouths (*vaktṛa*). Besides we should note that *vaktṛa* really means mouth and not face. The four Tāntṛik texts therefore seem to have represented four different *āmnāyas*, connected with the four faces of Tumburu, who was, in all appearance, an emanation of *Śiva* himself like the *Bhānūvas*.

The introduction of the four texts throws some light on another problem, *viz.*, that of the relation of Kambuja with northern India. Dr Chatterji has already tried to trace some of the elements of Kambuja culture to North Indian origin (*Indian Cultural Influence in Cambodia*, p. 253 ff). Now there are reasons to believe that the four Tantṛas brought to Kambuja by Huanyadāma were of North Indian origin. The *Pinḡalāmata*, which we have seen to be a supplement to the *Brahmayāmala* and to be connected with the *Sīrascheda-Jayadrathayāmala*, is very clear on this point. On *folio 5b* we find mention of the countries where the *Śiva-sādhana* was in vogue. It is no doubt the country of the *Āryas*—the *Āryāvarta*.

Vindhyottanagatenaiva Magadhāccāparena tu |
Himādrer dahsine bhāge pañcālāt pūrvālas tathā ||
Āryāvarta itī khyālas tadbhavācāryasādhakau |
Agāṇjanmahulodbhūtah sarvasādhāriṇo yatah ||
Visesanañ ca tathā brūmi agāṇisaktivācakaḥ |
Saktyantam janitam janma janmāgriety abhidhuyate ||
Ka pūrvāstavīrmukt[ā] anyadesodbhavāvapi |
Kāmarūpañca Kāsmīrau Kālingau Konkanodbhavau ||
Kāñcīkosalahāveryā āstṛajāvapi vajrayet |
Kīmartham cet tatsiddhyartham-mohsārtham sarvajau subhau ||
Suavratadhānācāryo nātīdṛgho'tīhasvakah, etc

This passage mentions the countries of which the people are unfit for *Śivasādhana* on account of their physical deformities. These countries all begin with *ka*. Kāmarūpa, Kāsmīra, Kālinga, Konkana, Kāñcī,

Kosala Kāveri-āstra (°) This shows that the oldest Brahmanical texts which included the 15 texts mentioned in the *Viśvāsūtra-samhitā* the *Syāmālā* and their supplements, all originated in Northern India. The four texts, the *Nāyaka*, *Sarasvata*, *Vināśaka* and *Simhaka*, taken to Kambuja in the beginning of the 9th century A.D. would therefore be of North-Indian origin.

Thus we see that the four Tantric texts mentioned in the Inscription of 802 A.D. during the reign of Jayavarman II are partly preserved in old MSS in the Nepal Darbar Library. The *Nāyaka* was probably the same as the *Nāyaka* and *Uttara-śrī* which form a part of the *Viśvāsūtra-samhitā*, now preserved in a MS of Gupta writing of the 8th century A.D. It was composed much earlier than the date of the MS and may be safely placed in the 6th-7th century A.D. The *Sarasvata* was in all probability the same as the original *Jayadrathayāmālā* of which an extensive text copied in the 12th-13th century A.D. exists in the Darbar Library. The *Vināśaka* seems to have been a supplement to the *Jayadrathayāmālā* and the *Simhaka*, the original, on which the later Tantras of that name were based. The four Tantras were of North-Indian origin.

Tumbaru appears to have been an emanation of Śiva himself, who is represented as having communicated the four texts through his four mouths.¹

¹ For further details on Tumbaru see *infra* pp. 22 ff.

FURTHER NOTES ON TANTRIK TEXTS STUDIED IN ANCIENT KAMBUJA

The Āgamas and their influence —The inscriptions of Kambuja abound in references to the Śaivite canon. Various inscriptions refer to *Sivasāstra*,¹ *Saivāgama*,² *Saivāgama*,³ and *Saiva vyākaraṇa*.⁴ Āgama means the oldest Śaivite canon which conformed to the Vedas and had not entirely separated from the Vedic religion like the later Śaiva sects. *Sāstra* was a term synonymous with Āgama. Āgamas are generally believed to be 28 in number but we have already discussed the text of the *Nisvāsasamhitā*, itself an Āgama, which mentions only 18. We have also pointed out that these 18 Āgamic texts must have existed long before the 8th century. The references to Āgamas in the inscriptions of Kambuja, the oldest of which go back to the beginning of the 9th century, confirm the same view. One of the four texts mentioned in the inscription of Kambuja, viz., the *Nayottara*, at least belong to the Āgama proper while the three other belong to the canon which grew later on under its inspiration. In the inscription of Angkor vat⁵ we find another reference to an Āgamic text. It is the *Pāramesvara* (*tasmin kuru mahadyāgam yathoktam pāramesvare*). This is the *Pāramesvaratantra* also called *Pārameśvaramatatantra* which is one of the 18 Āgamas mentioned in the *Nisvāsasamhitā* list. It is the 25th of the 28 Āgamas mentioned in later literature.⁶ We have already seen that there is a MS. of the *Pāramesvaratantra* copied in 859 A.D. The work was certainly much older, as it is mentioned in the *Nisvāsasamhitā* list of which we have a manuscript of about the middle of the 8th century.

In my last article I have tried to show that the original Śaivite canon which contained the 18 Āgamas was of North-Indian origin as, according to them, the best *Sivācāryas* were the Brahmins of Āryāvarta. But the people of the surrounding countries, Kāmarūpa, Kāśmīra, Kalinga, Konkana, Kāñci, Kosala, Kāveri-Rāstra were not eligible to that position for their physical deformities. By physical deformities we have

¹ Inscription of *Phnom Sandal* of about the end of the 9th century A.D. Bergaigne, *Inscription de Campa et du Cambodge*, II, p. 157.

² Inscription of *Angkor vat*, *ibid* p. 392.

³ *Ibid*, p. 389.

⁴ *Ibid*, p. 392.

⁵ Bergaigne, *Inscription, etc*, p. 390, also p. 384 with the note of Barth.

⁶ Gopinath Rao, *Hindu Iconography*, II, Part I, pp. 367-68.

to understand that their statues did not follow the prescribed standard and were either too tall or too short (*gruhya-gatya bhavishya*). Such a conclusion is also substantiated by other evidences. The *Tattvasāra* which is a famous compendium or Bengal tantra says on the authority of *Kṛyāsārasamuccaya*, *Yāmala* and *Tausampāyana-samhitā* that the persons with physical deformities of various description, and persons who are diseased, immoral, etc., cannot be *gurus* (*ibid*, p. 3)—*ttha mandyagururūhā*—

Kṛyāsāra samuccaya—

*Sūtracūṭa gurūtis tīrtayā cā rām nīl
Tunakhu syūṭa cūṭa sūtrā sūtrā tūngatāh
hīnānīh hīnānīh hīnānīh hīnānīh hīnānīh
tūṭa tūṭa tūṭa tūṭa tūṭa tūṭa tūṭa tūṭa*

Yāmala—

*uohisapṭan apuṭiṭa sūtrāyā hīnānīh
Tūyāhīnānīh sūtrāyā cūṭa sūtrāyā cūṭa
jūṭa sūtrāyā cūṭa sūtrāyā cūṭa sūtrāyā cūṭa
sūtrāyā cūṭa sūtrāyā cūṭa sūtrāyā cūṭa*

Tausampāyana samhitā jñāna—

*uohisapṭan apuṭiṭa sūtrāyā hīnānīh
Tūyāhīnānīh sūtrāyā cūṭa sūtrāyā cūṭa
jūṭa sūtrāyā cūṭa sūtrāyā cūṭa sūtrāyā cūṭa*

The same compendium *āgama* says on the authority of *Jābāla* (quoted by *Vidyādharaśāstra*) that the quality or the *gurus* differ according to the countries in which they are born. According to it the best *gurus* are found in the countries of Madhyadesa, Kuruksetra, Nata and Konkana (or Nata-Konkana?), Antarvedi, Pratisthāna, and Avanti. The Madhyadesa is Āyāvaita. The *gurus* of the second quality are found in Gauda, Śālva, Suia (?), Magadha, Keśala, Kosala and Dasāna. The worst *gurus* are those who belong to the countries of Karnāta, Naimadā-Rāstra,¹ Kaccha, Kālinda, Kalamba and Kamboja² (*ibid*, pp. 10-11), *tathā Vidyādharaśāstra-jñāna Jābālaracanam*—

Madhyadesa kuruksetra natakonkanasambhāvāh

Antarvedi pratisthānāntyās ca gurūttamāh

¹ It is evidently the same name as quoted in the list of the *Pingalamata*. Through mistake I connected it with Kaveri and took it to mean *Kaveri-rastra*. It seems to be a different country and probably is meant for Surāstra.

² *Konkana*, which is amongst the forbidden countries in the *Āgama* list, here is placed in the first rank. *Nata Konkana* may however be a mistake for another country. The countries of *Kālinda* and *Kalamba* are not known. *Kālinda* (certainly not *Kālindī*)

Madhyadeśa, Āryāvarta—

Gaudāh sālvaḥ surāscarva māgadhāh keṛālās tathā ।

Kośalāśca dasārnāśca guravaḥ sapta madhyamāh ॥

Karnāta narmadā rāstra kacchatnodbhavās tatha ।

Kālindās ca kalambās ca kambojās cādhamā matāh ॥

This list was certainly drawn up at a time when the authority of the orthodox Āgamas was a little undermined by a rise of the heterodox schools. But it still shows the old tendency according to which the *ācāryas* of North Indian origin were given the first place.

This throws some unexpected light on the recruitment of *Sivācāryas* in different countries including ancient Kambuja. We have seen that Huanyadāma came with the new *Sāstras* from a *janapada*, which was most probably a *janapada* in India. The family of Śivakaivalya, who was initiated to these *Sāstras*, was long established in Kambuja. The history of this family, recorded in the inscription of Sdok kak Thom is of great interest. The members of this family enjoyed the priesthood of the king through succession since the time of Bhāvarman (middle of the 6th century A.D.). They were *Sivācāryas* and were guardians of *linga* established in different places. The succession of the priests was determined according to the *mātrvamsa* "i.e., maternal lineage" (*tanmātrvamsa yatayas striyo vā jātā vidyā vidyā-vikrama-yuktabhāvāḥ । tad yājakaś syuh* BEFEO, 1915, p. 62) which implied that the succession was to go to the children of the sisters (*bhāgineya*) or to those of the daughter of the sisters, or the elder brother. There are several cases of such succession recorded in the inscriptions (*ibid.*, p. 54). It is difficult to explain the necessity of such an arrangement. Barth in 1901 thought that such an arrangement was necessary because the royal priests used to take the vow of celibacy and therefore they had to choose their successor from the line of their sisters. But M. Finot (*ibid.*, p. 56) says that it is difficult to accept this explanation as we hear of priests (though of very late times—11th century A.D.) who were married. It is however clear that the intention was to avoid difficulty in finding a successor because when the branch lines are counted the family has an unlimited scope. But what was the necessity of sticking to a particular

seems to be a mistake for *Kulinda*. *Kamboja* does not seem to be the ancient country of the Kamboja Gandhara group. It may be the country of the people called *Kam po tsa* mentioned in the Tibetan sources and located in Assam. These people seem to have been the predecessors of the modern Koch.

famur for the selection of priests? The only explanation that occurs to my mind is that according to the Āgamas the *Śivārāṇyas* had to be chosen preferably from the Brahmanical families of North-Indian origin. Such families were not numerous in Kambuja. The family of Śivakaivalya was probably a rare one and priests had to be chosen from that family and its branch lines, as the members of them alone were fit to be *Śivārāṇyas*. In the inscriptions of Kambuja we have several other references to the families of North-Indian origin, of which the members attained the position of royal chaplain. Thus we hear of the royal chaplain Bhatta Divākara who came from the banks of the *Kālindī* (Yamunā) and was thus an expert in the Vedic sacrifices (Beigaigne, *Inscription*, I, p 81 ff). In an inscription of Angkor vat we are told that the royal priest Saivajñamuni, who was a special adept in the Śaivite rites, came from the Āryadesa (Beigaigne, *Inscriptions, etc*, lxxv, 9, p 388 *āryyadesa samutpannaś Śivārādhanatatparahḥ yo yogenāgatah Kamruđese*). In the same inscription we hear that a descendant of Saivajñamuni filled the country called Madhyadesa (here a part of the ancient Kambuja) with Brahmins versed in the *Veda* and *Vedāṅga* (lxxv, 22 *cahāia desam nāmnamām madhyadesam janākulamḥ vedavedāṅgavidvīpam*). There seems to be a reference here to the immigration of Brahmins from India. In the inscription of Prah vat we find mention of a Brahmin, named Agastya, related to the royal family, who originally came from the Āryadesa (Beigaigne, *Inscriptions, etc*, xlv, 5, p 184 *attha dvijo'gastya ita pratito, yo vedavedāṅgavid āryyadesa*). Such practices were known in India too. The great Cola king Rājendra Cola who built the Rājairājesvara temple at Tanjore is stated to have "appointed Sarvasiva Pandita-Śivārāṇya as the priest of the temple and have ordered that thenceforth his *Sisyas* and then *Sisyas* alone, belonging to the Āryadesa, the Madhyadesa and the Gaudadesa, shall be eligible for the office of chief priest" (*South Indian Inscriptions*, II, 1, p 105, wrongly referred to as II, 2, p 153, in *Hindu Iconography*, II, 1, pp 5-6). We also know that the Malla kings of Bhatgaon (Nepal) had Brahmins from Bengal as their priests. These Brahmin families used to come to Bengal from time to time to contract marriages in order to maintain the purity of their family tradition. This was however the custom most probably in the pure *Sivasādhanā*, i e, *Āgamānta* Śaivism. * With the heterodox Śaiva sects like the *Pāsupatas* and others the practice was different. Thus in Nepal the priests of *Pasupatinātha* were recruited only from amongst the South Indian Brahmins (S Lévi, *Le Népal*, I, pp 364-65).

The influence of the Āgamas can also be traced in the Śaivite cult practised in Kambuja and Campā. There are ample evidences in the ancient inscriptions to prove that the constructions of the *Śivalingas* were made according to the prescription of the canon. According to the Āgamas the *lingas* can be of two kinds, the *cala*, i.e., movable and the *acala*, i.e., immovable. The *cala lingas* are again of different types *mṛmṛaya*, earthen, *loḥaya*, metallic, *ratnaya*, of precious stones, *dāruya*, wooden, *śailaya*, of stone, and *ksamala*, those made for temporary worship. The *loḥaya* i.e., metallic *lingas* are made of 8 metals—gold, silver, copper, bell-metal, iron, lead, brass and tin and the *ratnaya* ones are made of pearls, coral, *śaṇḍūrya*, topaz, emerald and bluestone.¹

The *acala* or *sthāvara lingas* are of 10 kinds, Svāyambhuva, Pūṣa, Daivata, Gāṇapatya, Āsura, Śūra, Āisa, Rākṣasa, Mānuṣa and Bāna. The *Mahatāgama* calls them *Sthāva Lingas* and divide them into four classes—Daivika, Āisaka, Gāṇapa and Mānuṣa.

In ancient Campā Śaivism was the predominant religion and Śiva was worshipped mostly in the form of a *linga*. A *linga* established by king Bhadravarman towards the close of the 4th or the beginning of the 5th century A.D. became a sort of national deity for the people of Campā. This *linga* is differently called in the inscriptions—Bhadrēśvara, Śambhu-Bhadrēśvara, and most probably also as Śrīśāna-Bhadrēśvara (see R. C. Majumdar, *Campā*, pp. 177 ff.). The inscriptions do not generally speak of the materials used for the construction of the *lingas*. Many of them, specially the *mukhalingas*, were certainly carved from stone. But we have some references to other types of *lingas* too. An inscription of Po-nagar, dated 960 A.D. (Majumdar, II, n° 47), speaks of the gold and stone images of the goddess, i.e., Bhagavatī (*harmī* and *śailamayī pratimā*, inscri n° 45 *kaladhautadehā*), erected by king Indravarman. This shows that both gold and stone were used in the construction of the images of deities in Campā. Another inscription is more explicit on the point. The *Yang Tekuh* Inscription of Indravarman I (dated 721 śaka=799 A.D.) contains two stanzas which have not been correctly interpreted till

¹ See G. Rao, *Hindu Iconography*, II (i), pp. 75 ff. The Āgamas from which he derives the information are *Suprabhedāgama*, *Kāranāgama*, *Kamikagama*, *Mahatāgama* and *Kīranāgama*, cf. *ibid.*, II (a), App. B, p. 3 ff.

² Cf. *ibid.*, I, Inscr. II, 10, XV, B, 26, XVII, B, 26, XVIII, D, 27, B, 24, and II, Inscr. LXI, C, 11.

now The sanzang of the inscription (see *Ind. Ins.* II, 33, VII and IX) —

इन्द्रादिपुत्रिणं लिख्य स्वायित्तुं प्रवृत्तम्

इन्द्रादिपुत्रिणं न च स्वयित्तुं प्रवृत्तम् VIII

तस्मैव स्वायित्तुं प्रवृत्तम्

समुद्रचरकोटि हि शक्तिः प्रवृत्तम् IX

Dr Majumda translates the Sanskrit as follows: "Indriavarma also installed an earthen (linga) of him (the god) which therefore came to be known as Indriabhadresvara. He also established, in the year of the Sakas sasi yama adi (721), two treasures for the god the one composed of movable and immovable things and the other movable and with a mouth (priests?)"¹

The last part of the translation is extremely intelligible. There is no question of "properly" or "improperly" as in the case of a treasure with a mouth (?) does not come in any way. Nowhere, as in many other cases in these inscriptions, shall we take notice of the fact that *Kosa* was apparently an order consisting of the *lingas* used probably for decorative purposes. The *lingas* were used to convert the *lingas* of the gods made by the gods to the *lingas*. These *lingas* were often golden and decorated with costly gems. The *lingas* had sometimes faces and *lingas* with six faces are twice spoken of. We find mention of *Tridhru-kosa* which was most probably a detachable one (see Majumdar, *Cumpra*, I, p 182). If in the present case we take *losu* in the sense of *linga-kosa*, the text becomes clear. It should then be translated "Indriavarma also installed an earthen (*pārthiva linga*) of him (the god) which therefore came to be known as Indriabhadresvara. He also established, in the *Saka* year *sasi-yama adi* (721), two *lingas*, one *cara*, i.e., movable, and the other *sthira*, i.e., immovable. The movable (*cara*) *linga* had a face (or faces)." The *linga* was an earthen one (*pārthiva*) which corresponds to the *mṛumaya-linga* mentioned by the Āgamas and it had two *lingas*, of which one was movable and the other, probably a simple cylindrical one, was a fixed one. The *cara linga* had a face (or faces) and thus when fixed to the *lingas* used to convert it into a *mūhūlinga*. The two words *cara*

¹ Beugnot *Inscriptions, etc*, II, p 33 et 37—VIII IX "Sur Indriavarma a erige aussi un *linga* terrestre de ce dieu, qui a été appelé désormais d'un autre nom Indra bhadresvara. Il a aussi constitué pour lui deux trésors l'un composé de biens meubles et doté d'éloquence," (les prêtres du temple—Bath)

and *stūpa* naturally remind us of the two types of *linga*, *cala*, movable and *acala*, immovable, also called *sthāra* or *sthāvāra* in the *Āgamas*

In ancient Kambuja the *lingas* used to be made of metal as well as precious stones. We have references to *lingam haimasobham*, *suvarnamayalīṅga*, *svarnalīṅga*, *kaladhautalīṅga*, *sphatikalīṅga* and *manilīṅga*. The materials used for the construction of these *lingas* therefore were chosen in accordance with the prescription of the *Āgamas*. They all were of the type known as *calalīṅga* and fell under its subdivisions *sailūja*, *lohaja* and *ratnaja*.

The four faces of Tumburu—I have already tried to establish that the four Tantric texts *śivascheda*, *vināśīlīha*, *sammohana* and *rayottara* mentioned in the inscription of Sdok Kak Thom, were authentic Śaivasāstras, being studied in India in the 7th and 8th centuries A.D. if not earlier. These texts constituted the “*vaktṛacatvṛśam*”¹ of the god Tumburu and were introduced in Kambuja for establishing the mystic rites known as *devarāja* (*siddhih devarājābhikhyā*). Tumburu evidently had some sort of connection with the *Devarāja* cult. *Devarāja* was a phallic representation (*lingarāja*) of Śiva—and we have already seen that Tumburu was an emanation of Śiva himself. The inscription of Sdok Kak Thom tells us that the first temple of *Devarāja* was built by Jayavarman II (802 A.D.) in his new capital Mahendraparvata (Phnom Kulen), and the royal chaplain Śivalakṛiṣṇa was appointed priest. The deity was subsequently taken to Hariharālaya where the capital was shifted. Afterwards when the king Paramasivaloka (i.e., Yaśovarman 889-910 A.D.) built his capital at

¹ We have now a definite text before us which supports the identification of Tumburu with Śiva. In the *Yogavāsistha Rāmāyana* (*Nirvāṇa prakaraṇa*, I, XVIII 23-26), compiled before the 9th century A.D. the following verses

ity astāvarya yuktās tā mātaro raudra eśitāḥ |
kādācinnmilita vyomni sarvaḥ kenāpi hetunā ||
utsavam paramam cakruḥ paramartha-pralāśakam |
vāmasrotogatā etās Tumburum Rudram aśritāḥ ||
pūjayedā jagatpūjau devau Tumburu Bhairavau |
vicitrārthāḥ kalhās cakruḥ madirā madatoṣṭah ||

These things are spoken of the eight *mātrkāś* who were one day out for amusement. They are here characterised as the followers of the left current (*vāmasrotogatā*) and related to Rudra who is Tumburu, i.e., the Tumburu aspect of Rudra (*Tumburum Rudram*). The eight *mātrkāś* are here made to worship the two gods Tumburu and Bhairava. This passage clearly mentions Tumburu as an aspect of Rudra. It should also be noted that Śiva is often referred to in the inscriptions of Kambuja as *Caturāṇana*, *Caturmukha*, etc. Cf. Bergaigne, *Inscriptions, etc.*, II, n° LXIV (p. 377), n° XLIV (p. 188), n° LV (p. 213).

Yosodharapua (Angkor Thom) he brought the deity to the new capital and placed him in the temple of *Vnam lāntāl* (lit the central mount, which was built in the centre of the city for receiving the deity)

This central edifice erected by Yasovarman was for a long time believed to be the Bayon which is situated just in the centre of Angkor. But M. Finot in his recent studies (*Etudes Asiatiques*, Vol I, p 245 ff) has tried to show that the inscription of Sdok Kak Thom has told a lie. A detailed examination of the sculpture of Bayon has led M. Finot to believe that Bayon could not have been originally a Saiva temple. He thinks that the newly built capital of Yasovarman was not placed under the protection of the *linga* Devaīāja, the national deity of Kambuja, but under that of the Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara. Necessarily he was led to conclude that Angkor Thom and Bayon were not built by King Yasovarman, as the inscription would have us believe, because he was a Śaiva, but by his predecessor Jayavarman II who was a Mahāvānist. Yasovarman according to him played the part of a vandal and changed Bayon into a sanctuary of the *linga*. The principal reason for starting this theory was that the sculpture of Bayon is almost entirely Buddhist. But it might be argued that the temple was begun as a Buddhist one and finished as a Śaiva one. But to this objection M. Finot answers that even in several *niches* of the towers the central figures were originally those of Buddha. They were later on deliberately destroyed and replaced by *linga*. Another serious difficulty remained to be explained away. Each tower of Bayon is decorated with four colossal faces turning towards the four cardinal points. In 1911 M. Finot interpreted them as the architectural translation of a *caturmukhalinga*. He, however, gives up that explanation in the light of later researches and now thinks that they represent the faces of the Avalokitesvara. He is aware of the fact that no such architectural representation of Avalokiteśvara is at present available but he still supposes that the architect wanted to represent Avalokiteśvara as looking in the four directions and thus protecting the city on all sides. M. Finot would therefore conclude that the inscription of Sdok Kak Thom has distorted the facts. Bayon was not originally a Saiva temple and Yasovarman, who was a staunch Śaiva, could not be its founder. It was founded in the time of Jayavarman II (802-869 A.D.) who was a Buddhist king.

But M. Philippe Stern in his study on the evolution of the Khmer Art (*Le Bayon d'Angkor et l'Evolution de l'Art Khmer*, 1927) has questioned the hitherto admitted chronology of the monuments of Angkor on grounds of style. According to him, Bayon did not exist in the time of

Yasovarman Therefore, the central mount (*Vnam kantāl*) of Yaśovarman has to be searched for elsewhere. He thinks that it should be identified with the *Phimēnāhas* which, in all appearance, occupied the central position in the old city. The city developed in course of subsequent centuries and its centre was naturally removed. According to the chronology proposed by him, Bayon could not have been built before the time of Udayādityavarman II (1049-1052 A.D.) or that of his predecessor Sūryavarman I (1002-1049 A.D.). The outer walls of the city would belong to this period.

But M. Coedès in a recent study (BEFEO, XXVIII, pp. 81 ff.) has tried to prove that Bayon was built still later during the reign of Jayavarman VII (1182-1201 A.D.). According to him the outer walls of Angkor Thom and some other buildings, which are of the style of Bayon, were constructed in the same period. Thus both M. Stein and Coedès agree in placing Bayon and the outer walls of the city in the same epoch though they do not assign the same date to their construction. Both of them disbelieve the testimony of the inscription of Sdok Kak Thom which clearly attributes the foundation of Yaśodharapura (i.e., Angkor Thom) and Vnam Kantāl, "the central mount," to Yasovarman.

This inscription, we have already seen, was composed in Śaka 974 (=1052 A.D.). The date of its composition therefore falls in the period to which M. Stein would attribute the construction of Bayon. It seems strange that a contemporary inscription would mean by *Vnam Kantāl* any other edifice except the Bayon. What is possible is that the traditional history of religious foundations, which it records, is confused. Its attribution of the foundation of Bayon to Yasovarman may therefore be easily questioned but Bayon was certainly considered as a sufficiently old edifice in the middle of the 11th century for affording scope for confusion about its real founder to the author of the inscription.

According to M. Coedès and M. Stein, the construction of Bayon and the outer walls of the city would fall in the same period. The towers of Bayon and those of the five city-gates are all decorated with four colossal faces. What do these four colossal faces represent? Are they the representations of the faces of Avalokiteśvara, as M. Finot thinks? Even admitting that Jayavarman II has not directly, but through his tradition, influenced the construction of Bayon, it is difficult to believe with M. Finot that he was a Buddhist king. M. Finot takes him to be a Buddhist—firstly, because he came from Java (or Śrīvijaya) which was a great centre of Mahāyāna Buddhism in this period and—secondly, because he

founded the city of Amarendrapura, commonly identified with the ruins of Bantay Chmai which is completely a Saiva site to judge from the sculptures. But the identification of Amarendrapura with Bantay Chmai has been reasonably questioned by H. Stein (1905). We should also bear in mind that the posthumous name of Jayavarman II is *Paramasiva* (the Supreme Lord—Śiva). The cities which he built—*Valandhara*, *Harihara* and *Amarendrapura* are all connected with the names of Śiva. The last name seems to be originally a Deva-Ājya. The priest whom he chose as his chaplain, Śivakaśiṇa, was a Śaiva and came from a Śaiva family. It was again he who authorised *Huayna* to introduce the texts of Śaivāgama along with the Śaiva cult of *Devarāja* into Kambuja. He really made it the religion of the state erected its temples and granted lands to the priestly families for its maintenance. Besides it would be wrong to say that the sculptures of Bayon have no trace of Śaivism. An important bas-relief of the first gallery of Bayon (see Comaillie, *Guides aux Ruines d'Angkor*, p. 13, n. 36) represents three temples in one row of which the towers bear tridents (*triśūla*) and the deity in the centre is a *Śivaliṅga*. In the face of these facts, it is difficult to admit that Jayavarman II was a Buddhist king and that he introduced Mahāyāna from Śrīvijaya into Kambuja. There is no reason to suppose that the four Tāntika texts brought by *Huayna* had anything to do with Mahāyāna. Jayavarman II was a Śaiva. If any one of the edifices (for example Bantay Chmai, Bayon, etc.), containing some Buddhist sculptures can even be proved to have been constructed in the time of Jayavarman II, the only possible explanation is either that he was a tolerant king and allowed Mahāyāna to flourish in the country, or that he had employed artists who had come from the neighbouring territory of Śrīvijaya and had Mahāyānist training. It will be wrong to suppose that Mahāyāna Buddhism of the 8th-9th century was very much antagonistic to Tāntika Śaivism. Though the sculpture of the temples partly seem to be Mahāyānist, the indwelling deity was no doubt Śiva.

It seems difficult to admit that Bayon was not originally a Śaiva temple. The state religion of Kambuja was always the cult of *Devarāja*. A temple like Bayon, which is situated just in the centre of the city,¹ could

¹ The question of the date and position of the Bayon has become more complicated after the recent trial excavations made by MM. Coedès and Goloubew at Angkor (*Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology* 1932, p. 40). I do not pretend to hold to the suggestion which has occurred to me in regard to the date and position of the temple in this article. It is, I hope, clear from the article that my main contention bears on the significance of the four colossal faces over the towers and gateways.

not therefore have been meant for any other deity except Devaīāja. If in some of the *niches* of the towers of Bayon the figures of Buddha have been deliberately destroyed and substituted by *linga* we must attribute that work of vandalism to a period when the king was a very orthodox one and did not even tolerate the sculptural representation of Buddha in the temple of Devaīāja, as his predecessors used to do. It is therefore necessary to go back to the older theory of M. Finot that the four faces of the towers of Bayon (as well as those of the towers of the city gates) are the sculptural representation of the four faces of Śiva. Devaīāja was in all probability a *mukhalinga* and it was quite natural that the towers of its temple and those of the city gates constructed in the same period would bear the *mukhalinga* symbol. This explanation seems to have a strong support in the inscription of Sdok Kak Thom which says that the four *sāstras* which prescribed the cult of Devaīāja constituted the *four faces of the Tumburu*. It may not be therefore improbable that the four colossal faces on the towers are architectural translation of the four faces of Tumburu, *Tumburu or vahtia-catuskam*, mentioned in the inscription, because, it is through those four faces that the god originally communicated the four fundamental texts which prescribed the religious rites of the king and his people. They are the symbols of the different *āmnāyas* of the Śaivite canon.

THE SANDHABHĀSA AND SANDHĀVACANA

III

Prof Vidhussekha Śāstī in an article published in the *Indian Historical Quarterly* (1923, pp 297ff) has tried to determine the exact meaning of the expression *Sanlkhābhāsī*. He has collected a large number of facts which justifies us in rejecting the old interpretation suggested by Mahāmāhōpādhyāya H P Śāstī as "the twilight language" (*vilcānkhārī bhāsī*). There can be no doubt that the proper reading of the expression is *Sanlkhābhāsī* and not *Sanlhyī bhāsī*, though it occurs in a large number of badly copied Nepalese manuscripts. The large number of texts quoted by Prof Vidhussekha Śāstī has enabled him to interpret it as *ābhīprāyika vacana* or *nyūṭha vacana*, i.e., "intentional speech". This interpretation is in agreement with the Chinese translation of the word as "secret, hidden," and thus "that of which the sense is to be made clear" (= *nyūṭha*). *Ābhīprāyika* means that "it is intended to imply or suggest something different from what is expressed by the words" (V S Śāstī, *loc cit*, pp 293-294).

I leave it undecided for the present whether the expression *Sandhāvacana* was used in the ancient texts like the *Saṅgharṇa pundarīka* to emphasise on any deeper meaning of the particular texts in connection of which it is used. But there is no doubt that it was used to mean a symbolical language to signify "something different from what is expressed by the words" in the later Buddhist texts belonging to the *Vajrayāna* and the *Sahajayāna*. It is evident even from the *Carayīcaryavimsaya* published by H P Śāstī. The expressions like "*nigra bhūte dombī tohori hudiā*" (p 19) "*āhī kālī vāta unlhelā*" (p 14), "*Kakkholapriyabola-melakatayānanda sphurāt-kundarāh | Salyā sodhita sālilālītākāh āhī ājārīs cakrīnah ||*" (comm p 33), etc., cannot convey any meaning, if interpreted literally. We have, therefore, to assume that there is some hidden meaning in them.

The *Hevajatantra*, a canonical text of the *Vajrayāna*, not yet much studied, contains a chapter on the *Sanlkhābhāsā*. It gives the clues to the interpretation of many symbolical words (*Sandhāvacana*) used in the *Vajrayāna* and *Sahajayāna* literature. It is difficult to determine the age of the *Hevajatantra* at present but it must have been compiled before the

beginning of the eleventh century A D, when it was translated into Chinese by Fa-hsi (Folio edition, XXVII, 3). There is also a Tibetan translation of the text. The great importance of the text in the *Vajrayāna* literature may prove that it probably belonged to the very early days of the *Vajrayāna* (7th-8th centuries A D.)

The 13th Chapter¹ of the *Hevajra* deals with the *Sandhābhāṣā*—(*Hevajra sam tantran dīna sandhābhāṣā nāma patalaḥ*). In this chapter *Sandhābhāṣā* is characterised as the *maṭṭīnamaya* (= Chinese *ta san-mei-ye*, great *Sumaya*) of the *yogīs*, and also as “the great language” (*mahābhāṣam*) and is ‘full of the meaning of doctrines’ (*Sumaya-sanketa visturam*). The Chinese translation of the text is a faithful one. The word *Sandhābhāṣā* is rendered as *fang pien shuo*. *Fang-pien* means *ānpāyika* (cf. *Mahāvvyutpatti*, Sakaki, 6334). Rosenberg (Vocabulary, p. 222) interprets *fang pien shuo* as *‘anparvīṭah*. *Fang-pien* is used here as an equivalent of *Sumaya*, i.e., special doctrine of the school represented by the *Hevajratantra*. The doctrine is summarised in one stanza which occurs in the beginning of the *tantra* for explaining the word *Hevajra*—

Hekārena mahākaruṇā vajram prajñā ca bhanyate |

Prajñopāyātmakam tantriam tanme nigaditam śrnu ||

This is the fundamental doctrine of the *Vajrayāna* as has been explained in such works as the *Prajñopāyaviniścaya siddhi* of Anangavajra, recently published by Dr. B. Bhattacharya in the Gakwad's Oriental Series.

The passage which deals with the *Sandhābhāṣā* has been established from a collation of the three different manuscripts, and the Chinese translation —

[D, fol. 9^a-9^b, P, 26^b-27^b]

भगवान्नाह—

बोधेह वज्रगर्भोऽयं अणुत्पन्नेकचेतसा ।

सन्धाभाषं महाभाषं समयसङ्केतविस्तरं ॥

¹ This corresponds to the 3rd Chapter of the 2nd *Kalpa* of the Sanskrit text. The Sanskrit MSS of the text are divided into two *Kalpas*, of 10 chapters each. In Chinese translation, however, the numbering of the chapters is continuous, thus the 3rd Chapter of *Kalpa* II=Chapter 13. I have consulted three MSS of the *Hevajratantra*,—the MS in the Nepal Darbar Library (D), that in the possession of Prof. G. Tucci who kindly lent it to me (F) and the last one in my possession (P).

मदन् मय वन नाम मन्त्रं न लन तत् ।
 गतिखेट ¹ श्व याव अस्याभरण ² निरगुक् ॥
 आगति प्रेक्षण प्रोक्त कर्पीट ³ डमरुक मत ।
 अभय दृष्टुर् भय कालिञ्जर मत ॥
 अमर्षं दिष्टिम् ⁴ प्रोक्त कपाल पद्मभाञ्जन ।
 भक्त दतिकर ज्ञेय व्यङ्ग्य मालतीन्वन ।
 गृह चतुष्टय प्रोक्त मन्त्र कर्त्तव्यम् नृपत ।
 स्वयम्भु मित्रक र्त्तं यज्ञ कर्त्तव्य मत ॥
 महामासमालिज प्रोक्त वान्प्रियोग कुन्दुक ⁵ ।
 वज्र बोलमिति ⁶ ख्यात पद्म कर्कोलक ⁷ मत ।
 कुत्र पञ्चविध ख्यात वर्णभेदेन भेदित ।
 सन्ध भाषा एता स्य बुद्ध्या पञ्च कौलिका ॥
 डोम्बी वज्रकुली ख्याता नटी पद्मकुली तथा ।
 श्वपची ⁸ रत्नकुली चैव द्विजा ताथागतौ ⁹ मता ॥
 रजनी कम्बकुली चैव एता सुद्रा सुसिद्धिदा ।
 आना शुक्र भवेत्तु प्रज्जिन्ना पिवेत त्रयी ॥
 वज्रगर्भमन्त्रं सन्ध प्रन्मग कथित त्वमि ।
 एतस्य सन्ध गन्ध सन्धभाष मन्त्रभूत ॥
 योऽभिषिक्तोऽव हेवञ्च न वदेत् सन्धभाषया ।
 समयविद्रोहन् तस्य जायते नात्र सन्ध ॥
 इत्युपद्रव चौरैश्च यद्भवति विवृणोऽपि ।
 मियतेऽसौ यदि बुद्धोऽपि सन्धभाष न भाषयेत् ॥
 स्वसमयविदा प्राप्य यदि न भाषयेद्दिद वच ।
 तदाचोभ प्रकुञ्चन्ति योगिन्यश्चतुष्पीठजा ॥
 हेवञ्च सन्धतन्त्रनिदानसन्धभाषा नाम पटल द्वितीय ¹⁰ ।

¹ T, खेट, P, खेटा ² सर्व ³ T, श्रुया, P, श्रया ⁴ P, अस्था⁰

⁵ P, निरगुक् ⁶ D, कपीन, T, कपीट, P, कपीटा

⁷ D, दमरुका, T, डमरुक, P, डमरुक ⁸ T, दुन्दुर, P, दुन्दुर, D, कालिञ्जर

⁹ D, डिष्टिम्, T, दिष्टिम्, P, तिष्टिम् ¹⁰ T, कु दरी ¹¹ T, बोलक ,

¹² कर्कोलक ¹³ D, श्वपची, T, चण्डाली, P, श्वपचि ¹⁴ D, ताथागतौ, P, तथागता

¹⁵ Instead of the reading सन्धा (sandha) we have sandhyā or sandhya in all the texts I have, however, accepted the corrected reading of the word

The words used in the *Saṃdhābhāṣā* are according to the preceding text the following ¹ —

madana (Ch *mo-nan*) = madva, Ch *luo she* 'fruit provision'?

vāla² (Ch *ni lo* = māmsa, Ch *keou tchao* "search-extract"?)

kheta (Ch *l'o-tcha* = gati, Ch *liu*, "to go")

pieksana (Ch *pi-ti l'o nan*) = āgati, Ch *la*, "to come"

asthyābharana (Ch *u-sa tie-p'o-lo-nan*)

= ni amsuka, Ch *tchou pao*, "ratna"?

damaruka (Ch *man-nou-lou*?) = krpita, Ch *kou-yin*, "dium"

duidura (Ch *nou-lo-nou lo*) = abhavya, Ch *pouo to jen*,

a man of bad qualities

kālīñjara (Ch *lo leng-jo-lo*) = bhavya, Ch *shen jen*, "good man"

dindima (Ch *ning ni mou*) = aspaśa, Ch *wou tch'ou*, "not-strike"

kapāla (Ch *lie-po-lo*) = padmabhājana, Ch *lien houa-k'i*, "lotus-vase"

tiptikara (Ch *ti-uang* ²-po-to) = bhakta, Ch *yin-che*, "food"

mālatīndhana (Ch *mo-lo-tung* = vyāñjana, Ch *t'ai-che*,

"vegetable food"

gūtha (Ch *yuan-touo*) = catussama, Ch *ssou p'ing teng*, "four-equal"

mūṭia (Ch *mou-to-lo*) = kasturikā, Ch *miao-hiang*, "good-smell"

silhaka (Ch *si-lo-han*) = svavambhū, Ch *tseu-jen sheng*, "self-born"

sūkīa (Ch *shou-hie-lo*) = karpūṭika, Ch *tsao-tso*, "create-do"?

mahāmāmsa (Ch *mouo-so*) = ālija?, Ch *pao-she*, "white colour"

Ch *yu*³ =

Ch *siang-ying*, "yoga, yukta"

bola (Ch *mouo-lo-han*) = vajra, Ch *lin kang*, "vajra"

kakkolaka (Ch *kou-lo-han*) = padma, Ch *lien houa*, "lotus"

[kulam (Ch *kou-lien*) = Ch *pou-lei*, "class"]

vaina (Ch *poua-lo-na*) = Ch *yu fen pie wou fen pie*, i.e. "bhedābheda" ⁴

dombi (Ch *nou-mi*) = Vajrakūḷi, Ch *lin kang pou*, "vajra class"

nati (Ch *na-ti*) = Padmakūḷi, Ch *lien houa pou*, "padma class"

can lāli (Ch *tsan na-li*) = Ratnakūḷi, Ch *pao-pou*, "ratna class"

dvijā (Ch *nei jo-to*?) = Tathagati, Ch *jou lai pou*, "tathāgata class"

¹ The Chinese transcription of the words are given within brackets. The Chinese translation of the word is given at the end. For the Chinese translation see Tok, XXVII, 3, p. 74^a, 3 10.

² The Chinese translation omits two words of the original *malayajam mīlanam* and *savah sāvah*.

³ This seems to be an incomplete and faulty transcription of the original *kunduru*.

⁴ The translator evidently has made a confusion here. The text simply means that there are five classes differentiated by the colours.

rajaki (Ch *lan jo-hin*) = Kaimakuh Ch *le-mo pu*, kaima class"
 [Madhā (Ch *mu to lo*) =² *mau 'heng*, ' Ch ' *ni a hieve ie*
ni sat huiāh"]

These are not, however, all the words of the *Sandhāvacana* class, as we have many others mentioned in different places either in the commentaries on the *Dhāṭis* or in the *Hevajratantva*. I will only mention a few of them here—

āḥ, *ḥāḥ*—these two words literally mean 'vowels' and "consonants" See Bazot, *La grammaire de Tantric Saṃbhota*, p 1,
ālī kālī candā sūṇya prajñāpāya—*Hevajra* (Chap I), *lōl'jāne n*
lōl'ābhāsena ca—*Caryācaryāṇiscaya* (com, p 15)

lalanā, *rasanā*, *avadhūti*—these are the names of the three principal of the thirty-two arteries—*lalanā prajñāsabhārena saṃpādyaśums'hrā* |
avadhūti mulhyadese tv grāhyagrāhikarāp'ā | *Hevajra* (Ch I)

Some of these technical words—*būdhicitta*, *śūndrasa*, *karāṇa*, *giri*, *evam-lā a*, etc, have been explained by M. Shah du'lah with the help of the commentary in his *Les Chants Mystiques* (Paris, 1928, pp 9-10)

In the chapter (*patala*) which follows the preceding one (*Pratīkṣa rāma patalah*, Chap 4 of Part II of our SS or the *Hevajra* = Chap 14 of the Chinese translation, Toms, XXII 3, 374), the Lord explains some doctrines in the *Sandhābhāsa*. The passage is faithfully transcribed in the Chinese translation *ibid*, p 75a, 11-13). We will first give the original text as collected from the three different manuscripts already mentioned and then the Chinese transcription, as given in the translation —

कोल्लइरे डिअ बोला मुम्भयिरे कल्लोला ।
 वन किविड ही वाज्जइ वरुणिकि अइ न रोला ॥
 तहि वन खज्जइ गाढे मअणा पिजिअइ ।
 हल्ले कालिञ्जर पणिअइ दुइ क वज्जिअइ ॥
 चउसम कस्तुरि सिक्का कप्पर खाइअइ ।
 मालइ इन्धन सान्तिवहि भरु खाइअइ ॥
 प्रेङ्गण खेट करन्ते मुहामुह य माणिअइ ।
 निरमुअ अङ्ग चडविअइ असरावि पणिअइ ।
 मलअज कुन्दु वटइ डिण्णिम तहि य वजिअइ ॥²

¹ *Miao icheng* in the Chinese text is wrongly taken as an equivalent of the word *mudrā*. The original text means that the five *mudrās*—*dombi natī*, *candali*, *luyā* and *rajaki* conduce to perfect *siddhi*.

² D, कल्लइले, T, कोल्लयिरे, D, किपिटि, P, किपिट, D, वार्जइ, T, वार्जइ, P, वेज्जइ, D, अइन बोला, T, अनरोला D,P, वन, T, वलु, Chinese वल, T, खोज्जइ, D,P,

Chinese transcription (p 74a, 17-20)

kaī-lo-vi-li ch'e-a moū-lô mou-ni-¹ ko-koū-lo |
 kiū ki-pi-cha hoū wei-jo yī kie lou ni-ki a-yi-loū-lo ||
 ta-hi tso-lo k'ie jo-yi ngô-ch'e mo-ye-nā pi-jo-a-yi |
 ho-lei hô-leng-ju-lo po-ni a-yi nei-nor-lou wei-eul-a-yi ||
 tso-wu-sau mo kie-chu-hi si-lo + hô ki-pou-lou lô-yi-a-yi |
 mō-lo-yi yin-ta-na so-lei ta-hi p'ou-lou hô-yi-a-yi ||
 pi + leng-kie-na k'ie-cha k'ie-leng-a shou-ta nou jo-ni-a-yi |
 ni-lien-si ou ying-ve tso-nā-wei-a-yi
 tai-hi ji-sa-lô p'ou-a-wei po-ni-a-yi |
 mo-lei-yi ji kong-nou lou we-chi-yi
 ning-ni-mo to-hing wei-jo a-yi ||¹

Most of the words in the above passage belong to the *Sandhābhāṣā*. The other words are in their *Apabhramsa* forms—*thra*=to stay, from *sthā*, *bājai* "to beat (the drum)" from *vādya*, *khaṇai* "to eat" from *kāda*, *piṇai* "to drink" from *piva*, *paniai*, "to bow into" from *pīa-nama*, *baṇnai* "to abandon" from *vaṇja*, *lai* "to take", *khari*, *karante*, *mānai*, *ca'abri*, *paniai*, *batai*, etc, also are to be explained as *Apabhramsa* forms which we find in the *Dohās*. The *Samkhāracana* in the passage are —

kakkola=*padma* "lotus"
hibda from *lṛpīta*=*damaruka*, i e, "drum"
bala=*māmsa*, "meat"
maane from *madana*=*madya*, "wine"

पिञ्चिद्, T, पिञ्चद्, D, इरे, D, कालिञ्जल, D, पणेशद्, P, F, दुन्दुर, D, वज्र न श्व, P, वजिश्चद्, D, omits कप्प, T, कप्परक, P, इजद्, T, ईश्वद्, P, लाइश्चद्, D, मालती इत्यन, D, सारितद्, T, सालिश्चतद्, P, सालि तद्, D, प्रखन, प्रेखन, P, प्रेखून, Ch प्रेख, D, खेरिन्न, T, खट, P, खेट, D, T, शुद्धाशद्, D, न सनेद्, T, न सुपिश्चद्, P, न मासिश्चद्, D, निरशक, P, निरसुद्, D, अप, Ch, चडावीतद्, P, चञ्चयीसद्, P, चडावित, D, जसनादिपणीश्व, T, जसरावपरिश्चद्, P, चसरवि, D, मलजे, T, मलयाज, D, वाटद्, P, वाट्टे, D, लहि T, जहि, P, तहि, वज्रश्चद्, T, वार्जश्चद्, P, वजीश्चद् ।

¹ *nei nou*, *na ning*, *ni stand* for ancient *ndei*, *ndou*, *ndo*, etc, *eul* for *ji*, there is often confusion between *mo* and *wei*, for the Chinese characters are similar. The vowels are lengthened according to the indication in Chinese. The combination of two consonants has been represented by the *plus* sign.

khilāṇāra = bhāṇya

dvāḍḍa = abhāṇya

carsama from *catussama* = *gāṇa*

silha from *silhaka* = *siyambhī*

kāṇṇa = suṇa

māla vadhana = vajāṇa

ṇeṇhāna = āgati

kheta = gat

nirama = asthyābhāṇa

malayaṇa = mīlana "union," this word, as we have seen is omitted in the Chinese translation. The meaning is the same as that of *kundura* which means *divindriyasamyoga*

divindma = aspara

I do not, however, pretend to say that by the substitution of these equivalents we can arrive at a clear meaning, the meaning will still remain obscure. That obscurity can be removed only when the text will be interpreted in the light of the Vajrayāna doctrines. Unfortunately our knowledge of the *Vajrayāna* is still very meagre

ON THE SĀDHANAMĀLĀ

The present volume which forms the Tome XLI of the Gaekwad's Oriental Series, contains the remaining *Sādhana*s, 142 in number (Nos 171-312). Dr Bhattacharyya is to be congratulated on the successful completion of his edition of the *Sādhana*mālā. Most of these *Sādhana*s are lying scattered in Tibetan translation in the *Bstan hgyur* and the worth of the edition would have been certainly enhanced if they had been compared for settling the text. But still our indebtedness to the editor is not minimised in the least, for he is doing the work of a pioneer in this field. The greatest importance of these texts is iconographical and ritualistic. Dr Bhattacharyya in his *Indian Buddhist Iconography* has done justice to the iconographical aspect of the work, but the ritualistic aspect still remains to be studied.

In a learned introduction the editor has discussed some of the most important problems of Buddhist Tantras bearing on the present text. This introduction deals with (1) Magic in ancient India in which he finds the origin of the Tantras, (2) Tantras in which he gives a general description of the Hindu and Buddhist Tantras, (3) Origin and development of Vajrayāna, (4) Chronology of the Vajrayāna, (5) Leading tenets of Vajrayāna, (6) Aims and objects of the Tantras, (7) Authors of the *Sādhana*s, (8) Vajrayāna deities, (9) Iconography. Our remarks will be confined to the most important of these sections, *viz*, 3, 4 and 7, which deal with the history of the Vajrayāna.

It is not true to say (p vi) that Buddha gave instruction on *Mudrā*, *Mandala* and *Tantra*. The oldest images of Buddha, of course, represent him with *Mudrā* but they go back only to the 1st and 2nd centuries A D. There is nothing to support the statement that Buddha incorporated Tantric practices (p xvii) into his system of religion. There is no work on *dhāraṇī*s translated into Chinese "early at the beginning of the Christian era." The oldest translation of something like a *dhāraṇī*, which I know of, belongs to the beginning of the 3rd century A D (Nanjio, *Catalogue* 478 is lost). Another *dhāraṇī* is said to have been translated between 223 and 253 A D by an Indo-Scythian monk, Tche Kien (Nanjio, No 355 *Anantamukha-sādhakadhāraṇī* ?). But there is an interval of 100 years between these two translations and the translation of *dhāraṇī*s, which took place towards the end of the 4th century A D. Both the translations are registered for the first time in the catalogues of the 6th century A D,

and therefore doubts can be easily raised about their authenticity, it can be, however, safely asserted that the genuine translations of *dhāraṇīs* go back to the end of the 4th and the beginning of the 5th century A D. It may be pointed out in this connection that the chapter on *dhāraṇī* in the *Lankāvatārasūtra* is not found in its first Chinese translation made by Gunabhadra in 443 A D but occurs only in its later Chinese translations.

Some interpretations of the Vajrayāna doctrines given in § 3 cannot be naively accepted at the present state of our knowledge about Vajrayāna. On p. 111 Dī Bhattacharyya says,—“Vajrayānists went beyond due limits in their spite against the strict rules of morality, and they violated all of them and plunged headlong into the worst immorality and sin.” This conclusion is based on a literal interpretation of some of the verses of the *Prajñopāyavimsāyāsūtra* of Anangavajra, edited by Dī Bhattacharyya himself. The verses in question are the following

प्रज्ञापारमिता सेव्या संधा मुक्तिकाक्षिणि ।
 परमार्थं स्थिता शुद्धा सद्गत्या तनुधारिणी ॥२२॥
 ललनारूपमास्थाय सर्वदेव व्यवस्थिता ।
 अतोऽर्थं वज्रनाथिन प्रोक्ता बाह्याथसम्भवा ॥२३॥
 ब्राह्मणादिकुलोत्पन्ना मुद्रा वै अन्यजोद्भवा ।
 दुःशीला पर[मार्था ?] च विह्वता विकला तथा ॥२४॥
 जनयित्री स्वसारं च स्वपुत्री भागिनेयिका ।
 कामयन् तत्त्वयोगेन लघु सिध्येत साधक ॥२५ [p 22]

Dī Bhattacharyya translates it as “without Prajñāpāramitā emancipation is not possible, and Prajñāpāramitā resides in every woman. Emancipation can only be obtained by coming in contact with any woman, whether of low origin and high, or whether mother, or sister, or other near relations.”

It is not unknown to Dī Bhattacharyya that every mysticism is garbed in language which is also mystic, and even many verses of the *Prajñopāyavimsāyāsūtra* are unintelligible if interpreted literally. Every mystic school has got its traditions, of which only the teachers (*gurus*) are in possession of the secret. But a critical observer cannot remain satisfied with the explanation of a modern teacher of the sect (and it is also difficult to find one in Nepal who is ready to divulge the secret to an outsider). The next alternative is to fall back on the literature of the sect. But our knowledge of the Vajrayāna is too limited to give us free scope in elucidating its doctrines. However the *Hevajratānta*, a work of canonical importance to the Vajrayānists and older than 693 A D according to

Dr. Bhattacharyya himself (p. xlii), contains many a clue to the interpretation of the Vajrayāna doctrines. Let us try to see how the terms ललना, मुद्रा, etc., on which the interpretation of the verses depend, are explained in this Tantra. In the very opening chapter of the text called *Vajrakulapatala* we find a description of the 32 *nāḍīs* (arteries) of which three are the principal, viz., *lalanā*, *rasanā* and *avadhūtī*, corresponding to the *idā*, *pingalā* and *susūmnā* of the Hindu Hathayogins. The nature of these three *nāḍīs* is further defined in the same chapter as

ललना प्रज्ञास्वभावेन रसनीपायसस्थिता ।

अवधूती मध्यदेशे तु याज्ञयाहकवर्जिता ॥

The nature of *lalanā* is, therefore, *Prajñā* and this *Prajñā* becomes an active force when *lalanā* is purified. I think it is in this light that we have to interpret the first two of the verses quoted where *Prajñāpāramitā* is said to be existing in the forms of *lalanā* (*lalanārūpam āsthāya*). What is then *Brāhmanāḍakulotpannā mudrā*? Dr. Bhattacharyya knows (p. lx) that there are five *kulas* (families) representing the five *dhyānī* Buddhas—Aksobhya, Vairocana, Amitābha, Ratnasambhava and Amoghasiddhi. For further explanation we have to refer to the 5th chapter, *Tattvapatala*, of the *Hevajratantra* where the five *mudrās*, Dombī, Natī, Rajakī, Brāhmaṇī and Candālī are said to be belonging to the five *kulas*.

मुद्रा पञ्च कुलानीति कथ्यते भोचहेतूना ।

वच्च मुद्रातेऽनेनेति मुद्रा तेनाभिधीयते ॥

वच्च पञ्च तथा कर्म्म तथागत रजसीव च ।

कुलानि पञ्चविधाङ्कुरत्तमानि सङ्काक्षप ॥

वच्च डोम्बि भवेत् मुद्रा पञ्च नटी तथैव च ।

कर्म्म रजकी सनाय्याता ब्राह्मणी च तथागता ॥

रजचण्डाली ज्ञात (?) पञ्चमुद्रा विनिश्चिता ।

कुलाना पञ्चभूताना पञ्चस्वस्वस्वपिणा ।

कुल्यते गम्यतेऽनेनेति कुलमित्यभिधीयते ॥¹

¹ The Chinese translation of these verses may be compared, because it is explanatory (*Tokusō*, XXVII, 3, p. 68b) "The mudrās are of five classes and they will be now described for the cause of emancipation (*mokṣa*). They are called *mudrā* because they are the secret of the *vajra*. *Vajra*, *Padma*, *Karma*, *Tathagata*, and *Ratna*, these are the five classes (of *mudrā*). *Vajra* is *nu m* (Dombī) *mudrā*, *Padma* is the dancing girl (= *natī*) *mudrā*, *Karma* is the mistress of dyeing (= *rajakī*) *mudrā*, *Tathagatā* is the pure woman (Brāhmaṇī) and *Ratna* is the *chen na-k* (*je*, Candālī) *mudrā*. The five classes of *mudrā* are thus determined. They are of five classes as they form the very nature of the five skandhas (?) They are called classes (*kula*, Ch, *pu*) because the bodies (*kāya*) are produced from them."

It follows from this that the five *mudrās* originating from the *śūlas* beginning with *Bṛāhmanā* (*Bṛāhmanādīkūlodbhūtām*) are respectively, *Bṛāhmanī*=*Tathāgatā*, *Candālī*=*Ratna*, *Dombī*=*Faira*, *Rajahī*=*Karma*, and *Natī*=*Padma*. What is *Mudrā*? *Mudrā* is explained in the same chapter of the *Hevajra* as कर्कशो भवेन्मूला अगुण्या सोटन तथा, these are, therefore, different gestures of the fingers by which the Yogin pretends to evoke the *Vajra*, i.e., *Prajñā* (*Pajram mudryate anena*) *Mudrā* is therefore not a woman.

The same chapter of the *Hevajra* explains the different words जनयित्री, etc., thus

जननी भवति प्रज्ञा जनयति यस्माज्जगज्जन ।
भगिनोति तथा प्रज्ञा विभाग दणयेद् यत ।
गुणस्य दुष्टा प्रज्ञा दुहिता च निगद्यते ॥¹

Therefore जनयित्री, स्वप्ना, etc., are different aspects of the *Prajñā* which the Yogin is trying to awaken during the process of his Yoga.

But I do not want to be dogmatic. I have entered into this discussion simply to point out the enormous difficulties which we have to face in interpreting the doctrines of the mystic schools. Their very oldest traditions do not allow us to attribute obscenities to their practices. I do not, however, pretend to say that these sects always preserved a pure standard of morality and that in later times their followers did not indulge in licence by wrong interpretation of their tenets.

On pp xxxvii-xxxix while discussing the *Pīṭhas* of Tāntric culture Dr. Bhattacharyya had naturally to refer to *Uddiyāna*. It is regrettable that he still persists in placing *Uddiyāna* in Eastern India, sometimes in Orissa and sometimes in Assam, in spite of adverse criticisms (Finot in BEFEO and Shahīdullah, *Les chants mystiques*, 1928, p 22n). We must note that there are two distinct series of names in Tibetan (i) *O-rgyan*, *U-rgyan*, *O-di-ya-na* and (ii) *O-di*, *O-di-vi-sa* (see Tāranāth and *Pag sam jon zang*). The first series of names is connected with *Indrabhūti* whereas the second series has nothing to do with him. The first presupposes the forms *Oḍiyāna* and *Uddiyāna* both of which are found as genuine

¹ The Chinese translation (*loc cit*) of the verse is as follows: "The great *Prajñā* is like mother because it gives birth to all the nature. It is like sister because it gives insight into the division (the diversity of the nature). It is like daughter because it produces all the qualities (*guṇa*)."

For another explanation of these terms जनयित्री, etc., see *Dākārṇava* (ed. H. P. Sastri), p 138. The *nāḍīs* are the seats of each of the 27 Yoginīs, *mātā ca bhagmī putrī bhāgmesī ca svastīkā | bāndhavi pṛtubhīmātā* (? *pīturīmātā*) *mātulasya tu bhāryakā*—are only the names of some of these yoginīs.

forms in the Sanskrit texts whereas the second falls back on *Oḍi* and *Oḍiṣa*, i.e., *Oḍra* and *Audhārīṣaya* (= *Oḍiṣa*) The latter is generally transcribed by the Chinese writers as *Wu-tch'a*, i.e., *Uḷa* (the phonetic value of *tch'a*=*da*) and the former sometimes as *Yue-ti-yen* (i.e., *U-ti-yana*) *Wu-tch'ang* is the older form and is based on **U-diang* (the phonetic value of *tcha'ng*=*chang*) which was wrongly translated as "garden" and hence restored as *Udyāna* Hiuan tsang transcribes the name as *Wu-tch'ang-na*, i.e., *U-diang-na* I do not know if M Lévi has identified this country with Kasgarh (and Dr Bhattacharyya does not give any reference) but on the contrary M Lévi has located it in the Swat Valley (*J As — Le catalogue géographique des Yakṣa*, pp 105-112) as all the available sources of information would indicate M Lévi has adduced good grounds for this identification and it will suffice to reproduce some of them here

(1) All the Chinese sources (Fa hien, Hiuan tsang, etc) locate Uddiyāna in the Swat Valley M Foucher (*Iconographie Bouddhique*, pp 121 and 148) has drawn our attention to the miniature of a Nepalese MS of the 8th-9th century A D which bears the inscription "Vajrapāṇi of Mangakostha in Oḍiyāna" Mangakostha is only a different name of Mangalapura (*Wong-kie-lu* of Hiuan tsang), the chief city of the Swat Valley (3) In the more ancient Tantras, for example the *Herajatantra* (7th *patala*), the order of the *pīṭhas* is as follows

पीठ जालन्धर ख्यात श्रीडियान तथैव च ।

पीठ पूर्णगिरि चैव कामरूपस्तथैव च ॥

So if Oḍiyāna be at all near any place it was certainly not near Kāmārūpa but near Jālandhara (4) In the *Romakasiddhānta* Uddiyāna is enumerated along with Sindhu Surāstra (5) In the T'ang annals (Chavannes, *Documents*, p 160) the boundaries of Uddiyāna (*Yue-ti-yen*) are given as follows India is on the South, Chitral is on the North West and it is situated to the North of the Indus (6) As regards the antiquity of the form Oḷiyāna one may refer to an inscription of the year 77 of the Kushan era (Luders, *List*, No 62) which records the gift of a monk Jivaka, a native of Oḍiyāna No authentic source of information of this period mentions Oḍa (i.e., Oḷra) There can be, therefore, no doubt that Uddiyāna is the same as the Swat Valley and that Oḍiyāna, Udyāna, Uddiyāna O-rgyan, O-di-ya na, U-rgyan, U-di-ya-na and Wu-tch'ang and Yue-ti-yen are all different forms of the same name and are quite distinct from Orissa

Dr Bhattacharyya may still demand satisfaction on three more points (i) where was then Zahor, to the royal family of which Śāntaraksita

belonged ? As Indiabhūti, the king of Uddiyāna married the sister of the former at Zahor, Zahor must be in the proximity of Uddiyāna (i) Where is Lankāpurī of which Jalendra was the king ? As Jalendra's son married the sister of Indiabhūti, Lankāpurī must be in the same zone as Uddiyāna. (ii) According to the Tibetan sources Lun-pa was an employee of the king of Uddiyāna. But how is this that songs attributed to him are written in Bengali ?

Zahor is mentioned in the Tibetan sources in connection with the countries which Indiabhūti visited after leaving Uddiyāna. He visited the cemeteries of *Biddha*¹ country, a particular cemetery in Kāsmīr and another in Nepal and last of all the cemetery called *Lankā* in Zahor (Waddel, *Lamasism*, p 382). Nobody has the right to separate any of these names from the context in which the mention of Kāsmīr points out beyond all doubt, that Zahor visited by Indiabhūti is the borderland between Kāsmīr and Nepal which is not very far from Uddiyāna. The identification of Zahor with Mandi as proposed by Francke (*Indian Tibet*, Vol II, pp 65, 89-90) is therefore quite correct. If one refers to pp 119 ff of the *Punjab Tribes and Castes*, Vol I, he will be certainly surprised to see the persistence of the old beliefs in the country of Śāntarakṣita. Lankāpurī is a cemetery in Zahor. But we have a different description of Lankāpurī in the history of the 84 Siddhas, where it is said that the country has two divisions, one is *Samḥala* of which Indiabhūti was the king and the other *Lankāpurī* of which Jalendra was the king (Taranath, p 325). The Tibetan accounts very often are confused and it is not uncommon that in them simple cemeteries have been converted into monasteries (see I H Q, Vol V, p 763 n). Leaving aside the cemetery of Lankāpurī in Zahor it may be admitted that a certain locality in Uddiyāna was also called Lankāpurī. But the identification of Zahor with "a place in Assam" as proposed by Dr Bhattacharyya does not satisfy even his own position as he has been obliged this time to locate Uddiyāna in Assam ! There are, however, indications which justify us in thinking that some locality in North-western India was known as Lankā. Jayabhadra, a translator of *Cakrasambaratantra* into Tibetan, is said to have been a man of Lankā, also written *Langa* (Cordier, *Catalogue*, II, pp 42-43). Ceylon was certainly not known as Lankā in this period and *Cakrasambaratantra* had probably nothing to do with Ceylon. On the contrary there

¹ I am not sure about the identification of this place with Videha (?) proposed by Waddel. It may be very well *psitu* (—Bhida) which Fa-hien visited just after crossing the Indus —Cunningham, *Geography*, p 178

is ample evidence to show that the culture of *Sambharatantra* was intimately connected with *Sambhala* country which is said to have been a part of Uddiyāna. Lankā of Jayabhadra, therefore, seems to have been the same as the *Lankāpurī* of Jalendia. Hsuan tsang (Watters, II, p 257) speaks of a country of *Lang-kie-lo* in the lower valley of the Indus, where there were 100 monasteries with 6,000 monks of both Hinayāna and Mahāyāna in his time. This name has been connected with that of the *Langga* tribe that still lives in the north of Baluchistan. This Langa tribe is distributed in different districts of the North west and classed as a Jāt tribe in the districts of Dera Ghazi Khan "where it was probably aboriginal or immigrant from eastward" (*Punjab Tribes and Castes*, II, p 30). Considering the immigrant nature of this people, it is not probably too much to think that they once occupied districts contiguous to the Swat Valley further to the north-west, and that their country was known as Lankā. The other form of the name of the native place of Jayabhadra, *Langa*, is to be taken notice of in this connection.

Now the last objection about the identification of Uddiyāna, remains to be answered. How could Lui-pa belong to Uddiyāna and be a Bengali at the same time? This question is rather complicated because it is connected with many others. The name of Lui-pa is in Tibetan *Ña-lto-pa*, i.e., Matsyāntrāda. Though Cordier (*Catalogue*, II, p 33) hesitates to take him to be the same as Matsyendranātha, he cannot adduce any plausible reason for doing so (see also, S Lévi, *Le Népal*, I, p 353, n 4). I refrain from discussing this problem for the present as Prof. Tucci has dealt with it in a paper to be shortly published in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*.¹ It suffices for me to say that the mystic cult connected with the name of Matsyendranātha went far beyond the limits of Bengal and was in vogue in many distant parts of India. There is therefore no wonder if his name is associated with both Uddiyāna and Bengal. Moreover while studying the history of these sects we cannot overlook the importance of the great community which the Yogins from remote parts of India formed in ancient times and do still form. Nor can we overlook the fact that these extraordinary people coming from different parts of India still meet in the inaccessible shrines of the Himālaya to communicate their secret doctrines to each other and thus maintain the solidarity of the religion of which they are the representatives.

Dr. Bhattacharyya is to be specially congratulated for sections § 4 and 7, *Chronology of Vajrayāna* and the authors of the *Sādhana*s. He

has tried to collect available materials on the history of the teachers of Vajrayāna and find out an acceptable chronology. This chronology may have to be modified in the light of future researches, but still a beginning had to be made somewhere. There is room for supplementation, but I refrain from it as that will exceed the scope of a review. I will however content myself in pointing out that Asanga, the author of *Sādhana* No 159 cannot be identified with the great teacher of Yogācāra unless it is proved that the complicated ritualism described in this *Sādhana* already originated in the 4th century A D.

One of the *Sādhana*s (No 127), of which the importance has been recognised by Dr. Bhattacharyya himself (pp cxxxv-cxliii), is of great historical value. It is the *Ekajātāsādhana*, which is said to have been recovered by Ārya Nāgārjuna, (i e, Siddha Nāgārjuna, circa 7th century A D) from the country of Bhota, (i e, Tibet) (*ārya-Nāgārjuna-pādaśiḥ Bhoṭesu uddhrtam*). In fact there are six *sādhana*s (Nos 123-127) devoted to the goddess Ekajātā. The description of Ekajātā, as given in these *sādhana*s, closely agree with that of *Mahācīnakramatārā* in *Sādhana*s 100 and 101. A comparison of these two goddesses show that they are essentially identical, the only difference being in the *bīja mantras*, in the case of *Mahācīnakramatārā* it is composed of three letters (*triyaksarī vidyā om hrīm hum*, cf *Sādhana* No 101) whereas in case of Ekajātā it is sometimes composed of 4 letters (*om hrīm trīm hum*, cf *Sādhana*s 123, 125, 126, 127 and as *hrīm trīm hum phat* in *Sādhana* 124) and sometimes of 5 (*om hrīm trīm hum phat*, cf *Sādhana* 124).

Corresponding to these goddesses we find in the Hindu pantheon not only Tārā, as supposed by Dr. Bhattacharyya, but also Ugratārā (of whom the worship was introduced by Vasistha and hence the same as (*Mahācīnatārā*), *Ekajātā* and *Mahānīlasarasvatī*). The *dhyāna* of Tārā quoted by Dr. Bhattacharyya on p cxxxix is the same as that of Nīlasarasvatī, as stated in the *Phetkārī Tantra* (see *Tantrasāra*, pp 514f). Further it should be noticed that in *Sādhana* 101 it is said that Cīnatārā is to be worshiped in

एकलिङ्गे स्तम्भानि वा श्वागारे च सर्वदा ।

तत्रैव साधयेद् योगी विद्या विभवमोक्षणीम् ॥

In *Sādhana* 123 it is said that the Yogī should meditate on Ekajātā in solitude, cremation ground, and street corners (*विजने चण्डस्तम्भान्चत्वारोऽपि*). The same is true about Nīlasarasvatī. In *Tantrasāra* (p 506) quoting from

the *Phelkārī Tantra*) practically the same verse as found in *Sādhana*, p 101, is quoted with the interpolation of two lines

एककलिङ्गे स्मराने वा श्रुत्यागारे चतुष्यथे ।

[श्वस्योपरि मुखे वा जले वा कण्ठपूरिते ॥

सशामभूमौ योगी वा स्थाने वा विजने वने ।]

तत्रस्थ साधयेद् योगी विद्या विभुवनेश्वरीम् ॥

The *Tantrasāra* quotes from a number of authorities to explain the difference between the goddesses described before *Nilasarasvatī* is सर्वभाषामयी शुद्धा सर्वज्ञायैर्नमस्कृता (*Nilatantra*) She is a *Pañcākṣarī-vidyā*, she is *Ekajātā* while she is separated from *Tārā* (i.e., the *pranava*), she is *Nilasarasvatī* while in unison with *Tārā*, and she is *Ugratārā* while she is a *vidyā* of three letters The presiding goddess of other *vidyās* is *Ekajātā* because *Ekajātā* is her very nature ¹

It is therefore evident that the Hindu Tantras considered *Ekajātā*, *Nilasarasvatī* and *Ugratārā* as different aspects of the same goddess Buddhist Pantias do not speak of *Nilasarasvatī* but mention *Mahācīnakramatārā* instead Both *Ekajātā* and *Mahācīnakramatārā* are of foreign importation The Hindu Tantras all have preserved this tradition The hints of this is already given in the verse quoted above from the *Nilatantra* where *Nilasarasvatī* is called *Sarvabhāṣamayī*, knower of all languages and *Sarvāmnāyair namaskṛtā*, worshipped in all the traditions The story recorded in the *Tārātantra* (to which attention was first drawn by H P Śāstri—*Notice of Skt MSS*, and fasc Vol I, 3, p xxxii and 152) describes how *Vasistha* went to *Mahācīna* to get instructions from *Buddha* He brought from there the cult known as *Mahācīnakramācāra* which prescribes the worship of *Mahācīnatārā* If there is any truth behind this story, it certainly reveals that the cult of *Mahācīnatārā* was incorporated into Hinduism from the Buddhist Tantras In Nepal *Nilatārā* and *Ugratārā* are worshipped both by the Buddhists and the Hindus Both the traditions, Hindu and Buddhist, thus agree in pointing out to the foreign origin of the goddess, known as *Mahācīnatārā* and *Ekajātā* in Buddhist Tantras, and as *Mahācīnatārā*, *Ekajātā*, *Ugratārā* and *Nilasarasvatī*, etc, in Hinduism *Siddha Nāgārjuna* and *Vasistha* play the same rôle in importing the cult

¹ Cf *Tantrasāra*, p 507, एषा पञ्चाक्षरी । तदेवाह—पञ्चाक्षरी एकजटा तारामात्रे महेश्वरी । वाराद्या तु भवेद्देवि श्रीमन्नोलसरस्वती ॥ उग्रतारा वराक्षरी च महानोलसरस्वती । सम्भासां विद्यानाम् एकजटैव देवताप्रकृतित्वात् ।

either from *Bhota* or *Mahācīna* (countries which may be considered identical) The name of Siddha Nāgārjuna seems to have been repugnant to the Hindus as being a typically Buddhist one and this is why it was probably replaced by that of Vasistha

The description of Tārā or Nilasarasvatī as *aksobhya devīmūrdhanya* "having *Aksobhya* on her head," as supposed by Dr Bhattacharyya, confirms the Buddhist origin of the deity The identity of *Aksobhya* and *Mahesa* as suggested in the *Todala Tantra* (cxxxviii) is probably a late one I will quote another text from the Hindu sources which gives a similar description of *Aksobhya*, and points out the foreign origin of *Nilasarasvatī* In the 5th chapter of the *Sammoha Tantra* (called *Aksobhyatārāśamvāda*), preserved in the Darbar Library, Nepal (see H P Śāstrī, *Catalogue of the Darbar Library*, II, p 183) we find the origin of *Nilasarasvatī* described in a corrupt Sanskrit as follows

(fol 21a) ब्रह्मणो वचनं श्रुत्वा प्रजहासत महेश्वर ।
 शृणुष्ववहितो विप्र महानीलसरस्वती ॥२॥
 यस्या प्रसादमालभ्य चतुर्विंशदान् वदिष्यति ।
 मेरो पश्चिमकूले तु चोलनामा महाऋद ॥३॥
 तत्र जज्ञे स्वयं देवी माता नीलीयतारा ।
 एतस्मिन्नेव काले तु मेरो युद्धपरायण ॥५॥
 जप जाय्य समासाद्य त्रियुगं च तत स्थित ।
 समोर्ध्वं वक्रान्नि स्रज्य तेजोराशिं विनिर्गत ॥६॥
 ऋदं चोले निपत्यैव नीलवर्णाभवत् पुरा ।
 ऋदस्य चोत्तरभागे ऋषिरैको महोत्तर ॥७॥

(fol 21b) अक्षोभ्य नाम चाश्रित्य मुनिवेशधर शिव ।
 येनादौ जप्यते यातु सत्त्वस्य ऋषिरैरिता (?) ॥८॥
 विश्वव्यापकतोये तु चीनदेशे स्वयं शिवे ।
 आकारोपरिटाकारस्त्योपरि च इ ऋति ॥९॥
 कूर्चवोजस्वरूपा सा प्रत्यालीढपदामवत् ।
 महोत्तरा सञ्जाता चिन्मया श्रीमहाकला ॥१०॥

The Mahesvara said to Brahmā, "Hear from me about *Mahānila-sarasvatī* with attention It is through her favour that you will narrate the four Vedas There is a lake called *Cola* on the western side of the Meru The mother goddess *Nilogratārā*, herself was born there, the light issuing from my upper eye fell into the lake *Cola* and took a

blue colour There was a sage called Aksobhya, who was Śiva himself in the form of a *mum*, on the northern side of the Meru It was he who meditated first on the goddess (?), who was Pārvatī herself reincarnating in Cinadeśa at the time of the great deluge ”

According to this legend Nilasarasvatī, also called Mahogiatātā, was born in a lake called *Cola*, on the western side of the Meru, which was included in the Cinadesa Her *vidyā* is composed of three letters, *a ta* (probably a mistake for *ta*) and *hum*, *i e*, *om trīm hum* It is idle to try to find out a precise geographical information here, but it may be suggested that *cola* is probably to be connected with the common word for lake, *kul*, *kol*, which is found with names of so many lakes to the west and north of *T'ien shan*, *i e*, in the pure Mongolian zone

ON FOREIGN ELEMENT IN THE TANTRA

I

The Tantra still remains an enigma to us. Very little work has been done in this domain and very little attempt has been made in the interpretation of its doctrines. But the fact remains that a vast literature has been written on it—a literature which is mostly found in manuscripts. The Tantras can be broadly divided into two classes—orthodox and heterodox. The orthodox Tantras are mainly represented by the Āgamas, the Yāmālas and their supplements. The heterodox Tantras are both Buddhist and Brāhmanical and are represented by the texts of a number of Tantrik schools like Kulācāra, Vāmācāra, Sahajayāna, Vajrayāna, etc. In the present article I will deal with a number of indications contained in the Tantrik literature which definitely points out that mystic practices of foreign origin crept into the heterodox class of Indian Tantras at a very early date.

H. P. Sastri in his *Catalogue of the Palm-Leaf MSS of the Darbar Library, Nepal* (1906, p. lxxix) quotes a very significant stanza from the *Kubjikā-tantra* which points out that the Kubjikā School of Tantras is probably of foreign origin.

“Go to India to establish yourself in the whole country and make manifold creations in the sacred places of primary and secondary importance.”

In another place in the same Tantra the Tantras of this school are said to have originated among the potters, a lower caste Hindus, and this is why they are said to have belonged to the *kuḷālikāmnāya*. It is prescribed there that the Goddess Kubjikā should be worshipped in the house of a potter.

A certain number of Tantrik practices styled Cīnācāra has been much discussed by scholars. The *Tārā Tantra* adopted by both Hinduism and Buddhism says that the cult of Cīna-Tārā came from the country of Mahācīna. Vasistha, one of the greatest Brāhmana sages is said to have gone to the country of Mahācīna to meet Buddha, who was to be found at that time neither in India nor in Tibet. Vasistha was initiated there by Buddha to the secret doctrines of Cīnācāra and subsequently came back to India to propagate them. In this Cīnācāra Prof. Sylvain Lévi finds distant echo of the secret societies which existed in China (*Le Népal*, I, pp. 346f). On my part while discussing one of the Sādhanaś published

by Dr Binayatosh Bhattacharya (No 127 of the *Sādhana-mālā*) I have tried to establish the identity of Mahācīna-Tāiā with Ekajatā, whose cult is said to have been recovered by Siddha Nāgāṇuna in Tibet (*ante*, pp 42ff) The Sādhana of the Goddess Ekajatā was discovered by him in the country of Bhota (*Ārya-Nāgāṇunapādāh Bhotesu uddhrtam*) The description of Ekajatā is found in six different Sādhanas (123-128) It closely agrees with that of Mahācīnakrama-Tāiā as found in Sādhanas 100 and 101 A comparison of these two goddesses show that they are essentially identical, the only difference being in the *Bīja mantra*, in the case of Cīnakrama-Tāiā, it is composed of three letters, and in the case of Ekajatā, it is sometimes composed of 4 and sometimes of 5 letters Corresponding to these goddesses we find in the Hindu Pantheon Tāiā, Ugratārā, Ekajatā, and Mahā-Nīlasarasvatī The dhyānas of these goddesses as found in the Hindu Tantras literally correspond with those found in the Buddhist Sādhanas In the article already referred to I have also quoted from the *Sammoha Tantra* found by me in Nepal the following significant passage about the origin of this goddess —

“The Mahēśvara said unto Brahmā, hear from me about Mahā Nīlasarasvatī with attention It is through her favour that you will narrate the four Vedas There is a lake called *Cola* on the western side of the Meru The mother, goddess Nilogīatārā was born there . the light issuing from my upper eye fell into the lake *Cola* and took a blue colour There was a sage called Aksobhya, who was Śiva himself in the form of a *munī*, on the northern side of the Meru It was he who meditated first on the goddess(?), who was Pārvatī herself reincarnating in Cīnadesa at the time of the great deluge”

According to this text Nīlasarasvatī or Ugratārā was born in a lake called *Cola* on the western side of the Meru which was included in the Cīnādeśa I suggested that *Cola* is probably to be connected with the common word for lake, *kul*, *kol*, which is found with the names of so many lakes to the west and north of the *T'ien shan* that is to say in the pure Mongolian zone

There are ample evidence to prove that the zone of heterodox Tantras went far beyond the natural limits of India. Some of the Tantras divide the Tantrik world into three *kiāntās* or regions, Visnukrāntā, Aśvakīāntā and Rathakrāntā Visnukrāntā comprises the region from the Vindhya to Chattala (Chittagong), Aśvakīāntā, the region from the Vindhya to Mahācīna including Nepal, and Rathakrāntā from the Vindhya to the

great ocean including Kamboj and Java (see Avalon, *Principles of the Tantras*, Vol II, Introd)

In the *Sammoha Tantra* (fol 7 a-b) we find a similar enumeration of Tantrik zones. The zones are here fixed according to two different Tantrik modes, known as *Kādi* and *Hādi*. The countries in which the *Kādi* mode is in vogue are the following —

Anga, Vanga, Kalinga, Kerala, Kāsmīra, Kāmarūpa, Mahārāṣṭra, Saurāṣṭra, Diāvirā, Tailānga, Malayādri, Karnāta, Avanti, Vaidarbha, Ābhīra, Mālava, Caula, Cola, Kamboja, Videha, *Bāhlika*, *Kirāṭa*, Kaikata, *Airāka*, *Bhota*, *Cina*, *Mahācīna*, Nepāla, Silahatta, Gaula, Kosalā, Magadha, Snotkala (? Utkala), Kuntala, *Hūna*, Konkana, Kekaya, Sūrasena, Kaurava, Simhala, *Pulinda*, Kaccha, Madra, Sauvīra, Lāta, Barbara, Matsya and Sindhu

The countries in which the *Hādi* mode is in vogue are the following —

Anga, Vanga, Kalinga, Suviraka, Kāsmīra, Kamboja, Saurāṣṭra, Magadha, Mahārāṣṭra, Mālava, Nepāla, Kerala, Cola, Cala, Gaula, Malaya, Simhala, Vonka (?), Vido (?), Vyonda (?), Karnāta, Lāta, Malāta, Panata, Andhaka, Pulindaka, *Hūna*, Kaura (?), *Gandhāra*, Vaidarbha, Videha, *Bāhlika*, Baibara, Kekaya, Kosala, Kuntala, Kirāta, Sūrasena, Sevaia (? Sauvīra) Banata, Tankana, Kankana, Matsya, Madira, *Mairā*, Saindhava *Pārsakika*, Dyoijāla, Yavana, Jala, Jalandhara, Salva (? Sālva), Sindhu

Two points are noteworthy about the zones described above. A number of countries beyond India are enumerated and described as the centres of Tantrik culture. These are—*Bāhlika* (Balkh), *Kirāta* (the hill tribes of the Himalayan zone), *Bhota* (Tibet), *Cina* (China), *Mahācīna* (Mongolia ?), *Mairā* (Media ?), *Parśvakika* (? *Pārsika*—Persia), *Airāka* (Iraq ?), Kamboja, *Hūna*, Yavana, *Gandhāra* and Nepāla. It is not to be literally believed that Tantrik culture ever spread to all those distant countries. The truth is perhaps that some heterodox schools of Tantras associated themselves with those countries either through tradition or through the community of some mystic beliefs, of which the history is lost to us. We should further note in this connection that even within the limits of India some non-Aryan groups of people like *Pulinda*, *Kirāta*, Barbara, Tankana, Ābhīra, Kuntala, etc., are connected with that particular culture.

Another important point to be noted is that within the limits of India the countries of the outer zone only are enumerated. The Mid-Land (*Madhyadeśa*), the country of the orthodox Brahmanical culture, is

practically excluded except the doubtful reference to Kauria (? Kauriava) and Kosala which may very well be Southern Kośala. In an article published in the *Indian Historical Quarterly* (Vol VI, pp 98ff, *cf ante*, pp 16ff) I have tried to establish that the Mid-Land was the country of the orthodox Tantrik culture of which the 18 Āgamas and their supplements formed the sacred literature. But the countries around it like Kāmarūpa, Kāśmīra, Kalinga, Konkana, Kāñci, Kośala, etc., were not fit places for its cultivation. The Brahmins of those countries were unfit to be priests according to the orthodox Tāntias. So it is evident that in these countries on the outer zone grew later on a sort of Tāntik culture which was of a different inspiration.

The unknown compiler of the *Sammoha Tantra* does not remain content by simply enumerating the different countries. He pretends to possess some knowledge of the Tāntias current in some of these countries. Thus on fol 27^b while referring to the Tāntias of different schools, he says that the country of Cīna possesses 100 primary and 7 subsidiary Tāntias (*satam tantrāni cīne tu upatantīāni sapta ca*), Drāvida has 20 primary and 25 subsidiary Tāntias, Kerala has 60 subsidiary Tāntias and so on.

The sacred centres (pīthasthāna) of primary importance, as found in the heterodox Hindu Tantras and the Buddhist Tantras are four in number, Kāmarūpa, Pūrṇagiri, Oddiyāna and Jālandhara. Pūrṇagiri has not yet been definitely identified. But there is no doubt that Oddiyāna corresponds to the Swat valley, of which the people used to make "the acquisition of magical formulæ their occupation" (Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, I, p 225) already in the time of Hiuan Tsang in the beginning of the seventh century A.D. Jālandhara and Kāmarūpa have not changed their names since ancient times. All these three places are situated on the high roads leading to countries outside India—Oddiyāna situated in the valley of the Swat river, easily accessible from the Upper valley of the Indus, has been the meeting place of the people of different origin. It is situated on the high road that connects the Upper valley of the Indus with Balkh, Samarcand, etc., on the one hand and the Pamirs, Khotan, Kashgar, etc., on the other by the valley of the Gilgit. Jālandhara is situated on another highway that connects Tibet with India through the Shipki pass, and Kāmarūpa has to a great extent been the centre of activities of foreign peoples who have been coming down from the Northern and the North-eastern hills since very ancient times. It is probably not without significance that Bhāskaravarman who was the king of Kāmarūpa told a Chinese envoy to India that his forefathers had come to India from

the country of Mahācīna and requested him to send a Sanskrit translation of *Tao-te-king*, the sacred text of Taoism and a portrait of Lao-tzu, its founder. In ancient time a land route connected Assam with Western and Southern China through the Patkoi hills and Upper Burma, and this route was generally followed by the invaders and immigrants from the North-East.

II

I will now proceed to deal with particular tantric texts that contain direct references to practices of decidedly foreign origin. For *Jayadratha Yāmala*, which I have elsewhere proved to be a compilation of the 5th century A.D., while discussing the special doctrines of different tantric schools mentions, amongst others, the practices of the Lāmās (*Līmāṅarga*), Śākinis and Yoginis (*Jayadratha Yāmala*, Satka III, folia 187a-193b). The texts in which these practices are described are sometimes very obscure. Following is roughly the substance —

“The special doctrine of the Lāmās is conducive to spiritual success (*siddhi*). According to it one should not cultivate the company of other gods except Śiva (?). The words of the Guru as embodied in the Tantras may or may not be followed. One should have all worldly desires and need not follow the strict discipline. He should have no satisfaction in (current) religious doctrines and practices. He should think that it is his own self that is alone present everywhere and have self-control in the company of women. He should perform religious acts on particular auspicious days according to the prescribed discipline. He should not be angry even at the gravest provocation. Such is the practice of the group of Lāmās.

According to the special doctrine of the Śākinis the adept should never divulge the mantras to others. He should practise *samādhi* in company of all women, should always meditate on the *nāda*, take his meals at night and worship Śiva. He should not violate the discipline of his sect during the *Dakṣiṇāyana*, should practise self-control by all means, should maintain his own *Kula* and should avoid the intermixture of *Kulas*. He should have himself undisturbed in respect of body, speech and mind either in his own *Kula* or in that of others. He should have his meals in company of the Yoginis. Those who follow the doctrines of the Śākinis do not uselessly kill animals for the sake of sacrifice.”

Now who are the Lāmās and Śākinis, of whom the special practices are just described? The *dākinis*, *rākinis*, *lakinis*, *kākinis*, *śākinis* and *hākinis*

are mentioned as the female energies (*Saktis*) of the Tantrik deities respectively called *dāmesvaranātha*, *rāmesvaranātha*, *lāmesvaranātha*, *kākesvaranātha*, *sāmvainātha*, and *hāmesvaranātha* who together with their *saktis*, form mystic groups designated under the mnemonic *da ra la ka śa ha*. The Lord of *Lāmā* is here called *Lāmesvara*. *Lāmā* is not the commonly known Tibetan word *Bla ma* meaning 'scholar,' but something different. The *Lāmās* are mentioned in the *Jayadiatha Yāmala* on two other occasions in the same context (192a) —

Durlabhā Kāśyapīvaige pañcāmrtavivandhitā |
Rūpikā Cumbikā Lāmā parāvṛttātha pālikā ||
anivartā ca dvedhi janmāntara samudbhavā |
etāstu sangamenaiva parām siddhim dadanti ca |
vikhyātī rakta-mādau tu bhīṣṭhangah kurute tatah ||
samhṛtyānṛthādaya pascūcca punar māsayet ||
ālāpenāpi cumbati
cumbikā sū'naviṣṭheyā yoginī baladarpitā
nivāsai rbhanavaritā stu Lāmānām tad viniśidhet ||

The *Lāmās*, otherwise known as *Rūpikā* and *Cumbikā*, flourish among the rare group of the *Kāśyapīs*. Association with them is conducive to spiritual success. They are called *Rūpikā* because they assume different shapes during their intercourse with others. They are called *Cumbikā* because they kiss at the very first introduction.

In the *Heragra Tantra* (Patala III, fol 6a) the *Lāmās* are referred to in the company of the *dākinīs* and called *Khandarohā* and *Rūpinī*

Dākinī tu tathā Lāmā Khandarohā tu Rūpinī

The *Lāmās*, therefore, constituted a mystic group of female Tantrik adepts who had their special practices. The *Sammoha Tantra* (fol 39b) in another place distinctly refers to a Tantrik practice (*vidyā*) called *Lamayāmnāya*, i.e., the *āmnāya* of the *Lamas* or *Lāmās*.

The *Lāmās* are also known from other sources. Waddell in his *Lamasism* (p 164), describes in detail a goddess called in Tibetan *Lha-mo*. She is also called *pal ldan Lha mo* (Slit Devi or Śīl Devi). She is the "goddess or the queen of the warring weapons." She like her great prototype the goddess *Durgā* of *Brāhmanism* is perhaps the most malignant and powerful of all the demons, and the most dreaded. She is credited with letting loose the demons of disease and her name is scarcely ever mentioned and only then with bated breath and under the title of the great

queen In her pictures she is pictured as surrounded by flames and riding on a white-faced mule, upon a saddle of her own son's skin flayed by herself She is clad in human skins and is eating human brains and blood from a skull and she wields in her right hand a trident rod She is publicly worshipped for seven days by the Lāmās of all sects, especially at the end of the 12th month in connection with the prevention of disease for the incoming years And in the cake offered are added among other ingredients the fat of a black goat, blood, wine, dough, and butter and these are placed in a bowl made from a human skull" In Western Tibet Lha-mos and dākīnis are represented as beautiful young women but more often with fearful faces, etc., to signify their power "to destroy demons whom it is their mission to combat" First in rank stands Lha-mo (Mahākālī), 'mother of the gods' She is represented in 15 different forms, but specially as a woman of frightful aspect holding a club with a dead man's head at its end and a skull for cap

In the district of Kanaur, Buddhists believe in (1) Paldan Lamo, the supreme goddess equivalent to Mahākālī, (2) Sai Lamo or the goddess Devī Bhagavatī, (3) Sai Lamo or Bātuka Bhanava (*The Punjab Caste and Tribes*, I, pp 87, 83, 91, etc)

We thus see that in Tibet in modern times the Lāmās who are certainly the same as the Lamos are conceived as goddesses of the type of Kālī and worshipped according to rites that can be called Tantrik It seems that in more ancient times these Lāmās, like many other goddesses of the Tantrik pantheon, were female Tantrik adepts who later on came to be deified It is the practice of these adepts of Tibetan mysticism that is referred to in the Tantrik texts mentioned before That these Lamos were in the habit of kissing people at their first meeting with them seems to be a direct reference to the Tibetan mode of greeting by showing the tongue

In this connection I may be permitted to make a few suggestions about the other groups of female adepts of Tantrik mysticism, *eg*, the lākinīs, the dākīnīs, the śākinīs In Western Tibet, the land of sorcerers and witches, there is a class of sorcerers called Lha-ka (probably Lha-k'a) or god's mouthpiece (also called Ku T'em ba) They "are frequently found in Western Tibet and may be females in which case the woman may marry without hindrance to her profession These wizards are especially resorted to for relief of pain" (*ibid*, pp 482 ff) Lākinīs seem to have been the name adopted in the Tantrik literature for these wizards Similar types of witches distantly connected with the Dags (the people of Dāgistan) and Śakas were probably referred to in the Tantras as dakīnīs and śākinīs,

respectively. Evidence is not wanting to prove that women still have a great rôle in the spiritual life of different people of this zone as well as that of Central Asia and Mongolia.¹

III

I have elsewhere tried to prove that the Tantrik doctrines were usually garbed in a mystic language. In the Buddhist Tantras it is called *Sandhābhāṣā* or *Sandhāvacana*. It is sometimes very difficult to penetrate into that language and arrive at the real interpretation of the doctrines.

The *Jayadratha Yāmala* while describing the special practices of the *Lāmās* mentions the special language to be used with them. This language is described as monosyllabic (*Ekākṣara-samullāpa*) and may thus be considered to have belonged to the Sino-Tibetan family as the *Lāmās* themselves belonged to the Tibetan group of mystics. The *Lāmās*, according to this language, had 4 different names — *Yoginī*, *Rūpinī*, *Lāma*, *Śākinī*, *Nālinī*, *Khari*, *Culī*, *Bilā*, *Trikhagigā*, *Pṣinī*, *Dhimi*, *Jalā*, *evati*, *Bedhanī*, *Lukt*, *Padabhī*, *kaktinī*, *Hī-ā* (?) *Karothī*, *Kalasi*, *Bhadiā*, *Dundubhī*, *Muk*, *aiā* and *Āturā*. We have already seen that the *Lāmās* were *Rūpikā* as they were capable of assuming different shapes. Some of the 24 names enumerated are descriptive of such shapes which they could assume.

A number of words belonging to the language of the *Lāmās* is mentioned in the *Jayadratha Yāmala*. A comparison of these words with Tibetan and with other allied languages of the Himalayan zone probably shows that they were culled from some dialect of that family. There are only two difficulties in establishing the identity of these words. As I have to depend on a single manuscript of the text preserved in the Darbar Library of Nepal, and as that manuscript also is in part corrupt on account of the negligence of the copyists, I have not always been able to determine the real forms of the words. The words as transcribed in the text always possess a vowel ending though we are told at the outset that the language is a monosyllabic one. We have to remember that the compiler of the text could not always faithfully transcribe the words as they belonged to a foreign tongue. Besides we are not yet in a position to determine the real forms of the words in question as they were in the 8th century A.D., when

¹ The late Mahamahopādhyāya H. P. Sastri informed that the worship of *Lāmādevī* is prevalent in some parts of Midnapur. But I have not been able to collect any other information on it. A goddess called *Rankinī* is worshipped at Ghātālā in the district of Manbhum. This goddess may have some connection with our *Rakini*.

the text was compiled. Our knowledge of the Tibetan dialects of that period is still very limited. A few such words are given below.

abhinādana—*bimsa* ? Tibetan —*gdon-bus*—greeting

āgataṃ—*nārisa*, *bibi*, in the *Sammoha Tantra* (28) *Nārisa* is said to be the word for *pranava* according to the traditions of some Tantrik schools (*śrībhāṣṇāya, nārisa pranava parikīrtita*)
bibi = **bib* cf Tibetan *phibs-ba* meaning 'welcome'

mātā—*lāsabha*—**lā-sabh* cf Ma'i tsab, meaning 'mother' in Tibetan
Lha as in Lha-mo means *devī*. The word, therefore, may be connected with Lha tshabs

bhaginī—*bhāgini* ?

duhitā—*dubini* ?

sasrū—*bhih*, *sāmanī*,

cf Tib *pha*, a *pha* meaning 'father'

bhātrjāyā—*nīmī sīmī* ?

patnī—*gusu naye*, there may be three different words here, *gu su*, *naye*,
for the last two cf Tib *chun ma* and Chinese *nu*

mātula—*mātrsva* ?

pitā—*pīḍimistho* ?

napitā—*trimini* ?

pitāmaha—*bālusi* ? for 'grandfather' cf Tib *po-bo*, *po-'o-lags*, Sikkimese—
jo-jo-o

mātāmaha—*pilapiti nunoni* ?

for 'grandmother'—Tib *mo'o lat*, a *phyi lat*, Sikkimese—
a *ñogs*, a *nat*

suva bhakta—*anīsam* ?

paksīrāma—*āpisi* ?

dadhi—*divi* ?

ājya—*himam* ?

bhojana—*dekalam*, the real word seems to be **de* for which cf Lepcha—*zo*,
tha, and Magar—*jeu*, Tib *za ba*

gūḍha—*duma* ?

svāmīnī—*japam*—**jap* cf Tib *zab* meaning 'husbanding'

pīḍāmi—*barise* ?

āgatah—*enire* **eni* cf Newar—*wone*, Tib *'on ba*, etc, meaning 'to come'

gacchāmi—*nigāntesi*, the correct form probably was **nigānire* which may
contain two words *ni*, *ga* and the suffix *re*, cf Tib *gyo*, *gyok*,
Lepcha—*non*, Muamī *nyu*, etc

rupta—*suraktam* = *surot ? *cf* Lepca-da Gurung-rod

rupta *hija*—*nibinakā* vulg *nilitigi* ?

samudra—*andhakāyo* ?

prthivī—*ināni* *cf* Šokpa—wonnish

pariata—*urukā* = *uruk *cf* Tibetan—*ri*, Lepca—*rok*, Bhutanese—*long*

sapta—*dveśāsinī* ?

nagarāśīrṣa—*adhena* *susurā* ?

sādhyā—*pīṣṭā* ?

śabhuja—*pasābara*

pakṣī—*uiba* *nogā*, for bird *cf* Tib *byu*, Bhutanese *bhya*, Lepca—*pho*,
Lumbu—*bu* Newai—*jhango*, *pha-ngo*, Thochu—*mai wo*,
Horpa—*gvo*

hasti—*tītīla* ?

asvā—*nuka* *jabā*—**nuk* *jab* *cf* Lepca—*on^t*, Lumbu—*on^t*, Tib *chibs*

aja—*avīda* = **and* *cf* Tib —*ia*, Bhutanese—*iah* *agai-ia*, Gurung—*ra*,

gāḍabha—*khaiag* ?

gāḍa—*srota* *jabān* ?

cf Tib *ba* Lepca—*bik*, Lumbu—*bit*, Newar—*sā*, Thochu—
sa lo, 'hepang—*yo shyā* (a bull)

mahiṣa—*anujapā* = **anu*, *jaṣ*

cf Lumbu—*sawet*, Kiantī—*sanwa*

uśtra—*mīna dvīpa* ?

vyāghra—*puia*, *nyāsā* ?

for 'tiger' *cf* Šokpa—*par*

mrga = *sīra kolo*, probably mistake for **siba kol* ?

cf Cheping—*kosya*, Tib *sa ba*, Tib (spoken) *ša p'o*, Ladakī—
sa-po

śarpa—*sahinī* ?

vyātayah—*kahisasa* ?

Besides these rapprochements another important fact is to be noted. The few verbs that are mentioned in the list—*enire*, *barire*, *nigānire*, etc., end in *re*. Hodgson in his Comparative Vocabulary¹ of these languages notes that in Lumbu the suffix *ré* is usually found with the verbs *cf* *pārē*—to give, *phérē*—to come, *pié*—to give, *térē*—to take away, *sérē*—to kill, etc.

¹ For the comparison I have mostly depended on this Vocabulary of Hodgson.

The words belonging to the language of the Lāmas discussed above therefore further corroborate the fact that these *yoginīs* belonged to some Tibetan race and that the compiler of the Hindu and Buddhist Tantras had a real knowledge of their practices. For facilitating intercourse with them a selection of some common words of their language was also made by them. The mystics, both female and male of India, really used to have regular intercourse with those of other contiguous countries in ancient times, and through this intercourse, exchange of ideas and practices were made. It is for that reason that we still find in the Tantras vestiges of mystic doctrines foreign to India.

THE TEXTS¹

I

(Fol 187a) अन्वच्छिन् देवतामगो ह्यस्य कारयेत् ।
तन्वीकृतं गुरुवाक्यं च वक्तव्यैर्वावतारयेत् ॥
विषयेषु लोभ्युपनिर्गतं नियमै हि अपवाहिनी ।
समयाचारचेष्टासु अप्रसादो सदा भवेत् ॥
आत्मानं सर्व्वतः पश्येत् अहितपरिभाषितः ।
नारीचर्यासमुत्थेन सयमो व्रतपालनः ॥
तिथौ तिथैव तु कुर्यात् नियमैः परिभूषितः ।
स्वविकल्पेन क्षामानां सम्प्रदायं निवर्त्तते ॥
शिवसच्चरणे चैव नित्यमन्त्रीधरो भवेत् ।
इत्यष्टौ समया प्रोक्ता क्षामावर्गस्य सिद्धिदा ॥

II

(Fol 189b) प्रश्नसिद्धौ चैव निर्व्वणस्पदपद्धतिः ।
योगिनी काश्यपीनां च ज्ञापका शृणु साम्प्रतः ॥
रामेन्द्रीरचनः श्रुतिः प्रश्नोऽयं प्रथमो मतः ।²
श्रवणयोगो मयाश्रयः द्वितीयः परिकीर्त्तितः ॥
द्रव्ये इन्द्रः निलपिन्तेति क्षामा - तृतीयकः ।
चतुर्थोऽयनये भीमे चक्षुर्नै गिरते विलः ।
एषिमासप्तमाजान्तं जभस्तं मञ्जुक्षामि च ।
दुर्भयो पञ्चमः प्रश्नः कथितस्तव सुव्रते ।

(Fol 190c) एते प्रासादहत्यानि षष्ठस्तु परिकीर्त्तितः ।
इति कौन्तेयस्यैव योगानि सप्तमः परः ॥
एतं व्याधिप्रसूतिश्च क्रिन्नेनेन द्वितीयमिति ।
अष्टमे देवि दुर्भयो प्रश्नो योगेश्वरैरपि ॥

¹ From the *Jayadratha Yamala*, Saṅka III, paper MS No 375 of the Nepal Darbar Library I have printed the text as it is without proposing any emendation

² The underlined passages are supposed to be the eleven questions to be put to the Yogins while meeting them in deep dark nights. The language in which they are garbed is characterised as *Paśāṅga Sanskrit*, i. e., the Sanskrit of the *Paśāṅgas*. Nothing could be made out of these questions, though their explanation is given in the verses that follow

तिमीदिवितलागानिविमीनमीनला ।

गमनेति महाप्रश्नो नवमो दुर्गमः परः ॥

फिनीमहा सुनीमहा नारासि न्नेरासकृत् ।

कराचरिणि दशमा मातृणामपि च तथा ॥

दुर्भेद्योऽयं महाप्रश्नः

योनिःसंश्लेषतरुहरे शीमयुरफल दुरुदृढ ॥

नाहृतमानेति तथा एकादशमो महाप्रश्नः ।

अन्धकारे महाघोरं पैशाचं संस्कृतं वदेत् ॥

वोटयाव्यय (२) भेदोऽयं प्रथमस्य वरानने ।

नाथ भित्तोमयामस्य द्वितीयस्य प्रभेदने ॥

पिबाम्ययं प्रभगि वा तृतीयस्य विभेदने ।

अवकारनता लामा एभिनिच्छति सुव्रते ॥

चतुर्थस्य तु देवेशि भेदने परिकीर्तितः ।

जन्मसप्तकसंप्रज्ञो एषनामवमोदकः ॥

भक्षयाम्ययं एह्येति पञ्चमस्य वरानने ।

प्रसादशिखरादृढं विलुप्यं वृत्तिविच्छेदः ॥

सन्ना मनोरमा लक्षा आगमिष्यति ततपरः ।

महासिद्धिं महाघोरं गगने न महातपे ॥

गत्वा तु मातृषादृढा आगमिष्यति सप्तमे ।

प्राणजन्तु नरेन्द्रस्य (२) पिबामोदकस्य स्मृतः ॥

सुरालये नगादृढा गन्धोगा नवमस्य तु ।

महानासाचरे शते स्मृती तस्य तु रोचनः ॥

गृहीत्वा तस्य काष्ठस्य आगच्छामोपरस्य तु ।

इति प्रश्नभेदाश्च योगिनीनां समागमे ॥

कथिता तव देवेशि शुद्धात् शुद्धतरा परा ॥

अतिशुद्धतरा देवि शृणुभाषा विकल्पनः ।

अभिवादनं निश्चेति नारिसि विवि स्थागतः ॥

लासभा इति माता तु भागिनी भागिनी स्मृता ।

दुहिनी दुहितेत्याद्यं अशुभं समनी विदुः ॥

नीमिश्रीमिति आढ्या पत्नी शुभनये तथा ।

मादृष्ये मातुल्यं प्रोक्तो पौङ्गिनिष्ठो पिता तथा ॥

विमिनीति तथा नद्या वाल्मीकि पितामहः ।

मातामहं पिबपिते तुनीनि परिकीर्त्तिता ॥

चिरीश सुरभक्तो आपीसि पक्षीराहुच्यते ।
द्विषी दधि लिप्त आन्ध देकर भोजन तथा ॥
दुम गूढस्तु विज्ञेयो जपनीतीति स्वामिनी ।
पिषामीति वरिरे एनिर चेति आगत ॥
निगानितेयी गच्छामि सुरक्त सुप्तमुच्यते ।
उप्तविजि नीविनका भाषा निलिनीतिगौ तथा ॥
अन्धकायो समुद्रस्य अनानी पृथिवी अता ।
ऊरुका पञ्चता देवि सप्तहेयासिनी तथा ॥
अधेना सुसुराङ्गिया नगरास्त्रिदशा अता ।
पिथिताल तथा साध्या सुभूजास्तु पशावरा ।
उर्व्वनीगा तथा पक्षी टिटिला इस्त्रिनस्तथा ।
गुक जवा तथा अन्धा अनीडस्तु अज विदु ।
महिष अनुजपा देवि उद्रो मीनद्विरस्तथा ।
गर्हभो खरग प्रोक्तो गाव श्रीतजवान् तथा
पुरन्यासासथा व्याघ्र शीरकोली सगस्तथा ।
सङ्घिनीता तथा सर्प कङ्किशेष विजातय ॥
याज्ञिकाना वरारोहे द्रव्यसमग्र अत ।
परस्परविरोधेन एषा चैव महानघे ॥
उत्पद्यन्त सङ्घाणि स्वभावाभारणाणि तु ॥
योगिनी रूपिणी लाभा शाकिनी ह्रीणास्त्रिनी खगो
चुल्लिविला वीखगगा पेशिनी देहिनी जला ।
रेवती विधनी लुक्ती पडभी रक्तिनी हिषा ।
करोठी कालुशी भद्रा दुन्दुभी मुखरातुरा ।

(Fol 191a) चतुर्विंशतिनामानि खामाना परिभाषणे ॥
पिशित फलशुष मांस पैशाच राक्षसागर्ण ।
ऊर्ध्व पवित्र सर्वस्व प्राणिज देहधारिण ॥
द्रव पिच्छिलक प्राण जसोसौरजमन्त्रक ।
कर पीत-तथा श्वेत दशन जाधिर अत ॥
काष्ठ अप अत सुप्त असक्तार चिताम्भज ।
अतप्राचमगार्म च विमुक्त प्रेतलक्ष्य ।
शून्य समानसंस्थान क्षेदेवास अतस्त्व तु ।
अचलुषस्तद खाट पिष भूष अशेकाद ।

प्राप्य वोट च एतानि दश नामानि भक्षणे ।
 प्रेनालय महाघोर श्मशान निश्मूषण ।
 सर्वजागिषण भीष चण्डराक्षसघातक ।
 दीपन चैव भाष च श्रव्यकार तनोत्कट ।
 लामावास महासिद्धि शतज्योति शतज्वल ।
 शिवालय तु देवेशि श्मशान परिकीर्त्तित ।
 गुह्यात् गुह्यतरं मन्य सिद्धिख्याता शृणुष्व च ।
 नायुमाशीस्त्रिया देवि पुक्त गुह्य च भक्षण ।
 समाताजीव्य मेधेति पत्नी चैव शिख स्मृत ।
 लस तल्ली तथा रक्त भीमां सफेची कुर्यात् ।
 दाश्रित च तथा योगी लामालाक्ष्मीतिरूपिणी ।
 कुरु शाकिनी दुरेति श्रुत्या बुद्धीमहायुष ।
 चा यागा र्त्रं तथा देवि विज्ञेयमभिवादनात् ।
एकाक्षरा समुल्लापा एते सादृगणस्य तु ॥

ADDITIONAL NOTE —While examining some MSS in the *Asiatic Society of Bengal* for other studies, I have recently come upon another text concerning the Lāmās. It is found in the Buddhist compendium called *Abhidhānottara*, preserved in the Government collection (see also H P Sastri, *Catalogue of the Government Collection of Buddhist MSS*, 1917, No 10759). The MS was copied in 1298 A.D. One of the sections (*patala*) is called the *Lāmālakṣaṇa patala* (fol 83b ff). The Lāmās are conceived here as female ascetics of different types. One of the types is described as possessed with well proportioned limbs (*samyagangāvayava*), and round face (*mukham yasyās tu drśyate parimaṇḍalam*). They have long eye-lashes, and are well-dressed (*suvastrā*), beautiful and truthful (*śaumyā, satyavādinī*). They are faithful to their true religion and brave ascetics (*saddharmaratā nityam vīrabhoginīyāḥ*). The *dharma* and *karma* mudrās are to be used with them. Another type of Lāmās has long lips (*lambosthī*), red grey eyes (*rakta-piṅgala-locanā*), auspicious looks and are fair like the Campaka flowers (*subhagā dhanyā gaurī campaka-sannibhā*). They are tall (*dīrghā*), have fearful faces (*karālā*) and are fond of coloured dresses (*vicitra-vasana-piṅgā*). They laugh and play and stand obstructing the route (*hasate ramate carva mārgam ākramya tṛṣṭhati*). The *sūla-mudrā* is to be used with them.

A third type of Lāmās is red and fair (*rakta-gaurā*) and has red, grey eyes (*rakta piṅgala-locanā*). They have wavy hairs and put on a sort of

head-dress (*kuñcitā ca tathā keśā pattabandha sme tathā*) and they have one wrinkle on their forehead (*lalāte dīsyate carva ekarekhā*) They are long necked, and fond of singing They are particularly restless and protect in quaiels (*calaccottā vīsesena kalāhesu ca rakṣyate*) The *śakti-mudrā* is to be used with them

The last type of *Lāmās* is short-statured and is fond of yellow clothes (*hrasvā sthūla-gaṅghā pītavastra-priyā*), they have dark grey eyes (*hrsna-piṅgalalocanā*) and are dreadful-looking *kaṭālanīkṛtāghorā sthūlā syāt sthūlarakṣaṇā | lambosthī hr̥snavarnā ca kotāṅksī rugnanāsikā ||*) They are fond of dancing, have dark colour and are charming (*nṛtya-gandharīa-kūśalā meghavarṇā manoharā*) The *Nāgamudrā* is to be used with them Such *Lāmās* are called *Heruka-lāmās* (*Śiṣ Herukānām ca lāmānām etadbhāratī lalasiṁam*)

The text further speaks of the *dīkinīs* and the symbolic language to be used with them I will deal with this symbolic language along with other similar Tantric devices in a future article During my stay in Nepal I did not succeed in getting any information either about the *Lāmas* or *Lāmo devī* I am however informed by some Nepalese of *ayakot* that there are temples of *Lāmo devīs* in the interior of Nepal The Tibetan *Bla-mas* only are entitled to enter the temples for worshipping them It is currently believed also that if anybody excepting the priests enters the temple he is sure to die

SOME TECHNICAL TERMS OF THE TANTRAS

Candā-Sūya

Though some scholars still entertain doubts as to the use of symbolical 'terms' in the Tantras it is undeniable that such terms do exist in the Tantrik literature both Buddhist and Brahmanical. I propose here to study these terms as far as possible with the help of texts, either published or still in manuscript, and to draw the attention of scholars to the importance of this symbolism in the study of the Tantras. The presence of such technical terms in the Tantras renders their interpretation not only difficult but sometimes almost impossible for want of proper materials which contained the clue. It is therefore dangerous to take such terms in their literal sense because that does not only vitiate our interpretation but also hinders all progress in the study of Indian mysticism. As it will be seen, this symbolism is not arbitrary but is the logical outcome of some very old and original notions about things. It further points to the common basis of both Buddhist and Brahmanical mysticism.

Candia and Sūrva or the moon and the sun are two technical terms which are often met with both in the Buddhist and Brahmanical texts of mysticism. In the Buddhist *Caryāpadas*,² written in old Bengali, and the Apabhramśa texts called *Dohākośa* which may be placed sometime between the 8th and 12th centuries A D these two terms or their synonyms are often used.

1 The Dohākośa of Saraha, verse 25

jahi mana parana na sañcaraṃ ravi sasi nāha pavesa |
tahi bada citta visāma karu ||

“ There where the mind and the wind do not move about, there where the *ravi* and the *śāśin* do not enter, repose your *citta* there ”

¹ I pointed it out sometime ago in a short note on *Sandhābhāsā* (*Indian Historical Quarterly*) and in my review of the *Sādhnamālā* (*I H Q*, VI, p 878). But see Winternitz, *Notes on the Guhyasamāja* (*I H Q*, IX, pp 1 ff).

* For the *Garyāpadas*, references are made to the text published by the late Dr H P Sastri but I have adopted the correct readings as established in the forthcoming edition of the work prepared by me in collaboration with Dr S K Chatterji. For the *Dohākosa* of the text as established by Dr Shahidullah—*Les chants mystiques*

2 The Dohakośa of Kānhupāda, verse 5

lalanā rasanā ravi sasi tudra benna vi pāse

“ By destroying the *ravi* and the *sasi*, the *lalanā* and the *rasanā* on both sides ”

3 Two miscellaneous dohās of Saraha¹—

candā suṣṣa ghaṣi ghōḥa ghottar |

pāba punna tabe tā khane tuttar ||

“ When the *candā* and the *sūṣya* are rubbed and mixed up together merit and demerit immediately disappear ”

candā suṣṣa bera ghōḥa ghottaha

“ Mix up the two, *candā* and *sūṣya*, by rubbing them ”

4 Caryāpada of Kṛṣṇa, 11

ravi śaśi kundala kin ābharaṇa

“ The sun and the moon were converted into earrings ”

5 Caryāpada of Dombi, 14

candā suṣṣa dui cakā sithisamhāra pulindā |

vāma dāhina na cetaḥ bāhatu chandā ||

“ The moon and the sun, (have now been made into) the two wheels in which lie creation and destruction Without looking to the left and the right sides take (the boat) as you like ”

6 Caryāpada of Vinā, 17

suṣṣa lāu śaśi lāgeḥi tānti

The Siddha Vināpāda says that he has made a new kind of Vinā of which “ the sun is the gourd to which the moon-strings have been affixed ”

7 Caryāpada of Saraha, 32

nāda na bindu na ravi sasimandala |

citarā saḥāḥa mukhala ||

“ There is no *nāda*, no *bindu*, no sun and no moon, the *citta-rāja* is free by his own nature ”

8 Caryāpada of Guṇḍarī, 4

candā-suṣṣa bera pakḥā phāla

“ Cut off the two wings called the sun and the moon ”

¹ Cf. *Subhāṣitasamgraha*, ed. Bendall, pp. 79 and 84

From the above passages ¹ it is evident that *sūrya* and *candra* or *ravi* and *śaśin* are to be destroyed, mixed up together so that they may lose their independent existence, and to be made into ornaments, i.e., to be subordinated. When it is said that the sun is the gourd to which moon-stings have been affixed the implication is that they have not been allowed to work independently and have been brought together in such a fashion as to function in a combined way. Such treatment of the sun and the moon has been prescribed for bringing about a state of mind which is beyond the reach of the senses. This is a state of perfect repose and as that state of repose can be disturbed only by the sun and the moon these should be either removed, subordinated or controlled in such a way as not to be able to work independently.

There are also indications, in the passages quoted above, of the fact that these two, namely, the sun and the moon, are connected with the two sides (*benna* or *pāsa*)—the right and the left (*vāma dāhina*), and are compared to the two wings (*pakṣā*). This idea is also expressed in some of the Caryās

- 1 Caryā 8 (Kambalapāda) *vāma dāhina cāpi mli mli māgā*—where the poet says that he has been able to attain the great bliss (*mahāśukha*) “by keeping close to the (middle) way and pressing (i.e., keeping under control) the right and the left (ways)”
- 2 Caryā 15 (Śāntipāda) *vāma dāhinaḥ do vāta cchādi*—where

¹ The extracts from Sanskrit commentaries to these passages are given below in order

- [1] यच्च सर्व्वजन्तुषु स्वरूप स्वसवेदनतया गुरोरादेशात् । न स्थितेष्वपि चित्तविशेष कुत्र यत्र महत्स्व प्राप्त्यति [सि ?] । तस्मिन् स्थाने मनस पवनस्य च सञ्चारो न भवति । तत्रैव रविश्चन्द्रिणी-प्रवेशनिष्ठासौ न स ।
- [2] वामनासापुटे प्रज्ञाचन्द्रस्वभावेन ललना स्थिता । दक्षिणनासापुटे उपाग्रसूर्यस्वभावेन रसना स्थिता ।
- [3] No commentary
- [4] वज्रजापपरिशीलितचन्द्रसूर्यादिकेन चक्षुरानुपुरादियोगिकालकारं कृतम् ।
- [5] चन्द्र प्रज्ञाज्ञान सूर्य्यसुतादज्ञान पुलिन्द सन्धाभावश्च ननु सक्तम् । यच्च एते ससारस्य खड्गसङ्घार-कारका । सर्व्ववर्त्मानुपलब्धश्रवणौ गच्छन् सन् वामदक्षिणमातृपञ्चासीरमनुपलब्धौति सो ऋत्वि स्वच्छन्देन विलसन्नशोषितबोधिचित्तनौवाङ्मनाभ्यास कुर्व्व ।
- [6] सूर्याभास तु बिनाकारसुतप्रेक्ष्य चन्द्राभासेन सन्निवृत्तः ।
- [7] नादविन्दादिविकल्पपरिहारात्—
- [8] वज्रजापोपदेशेन चन्द्रसूर्य्ययो पञ्चयज्ञः खण्डयित्वा—

the poet says that he moves on at will "after abandoning the right and the left ways"

- 3 Caryā 32 (Sarabapāda) *vāma dakṣiṇa yo khāla viḥhalā* "the right and the left are the pitfalls"¹

That the two ways on either side, right and left, are pitfalls and full of difficulties is also indicated when it is said by the Siddha Cātilla *duṭṭhā cikhilū māḥe na thāi*—there is no ford on either of the two sides which are full of mud

The sun and the moon, in some of the Caryās, are further connected with *kālī* (consonants beginning with *ka*) and *ālī* (vowels beginning with *a*) respectively

- 1 Caryā 7 (Kāhnu) *ālī kālī vāta runḍhelā*—"the way (i.e., the right way) has been obstructed by the vowels and the consonants"

- 2 Caryā 11 (Kṛṣṇapāda)
ālī kālī ghantā nūna carane
ravi sasi-kundala kṛi ābharaṇe

"*Ālī* and *kālī*, i.e., vowels and consonants have been made into the anklets and the sun and the moon into rings of the ears"²

When *ālī* and *kālī* are mentioned, apparently certain emphasis is laid on the sound-value of the vowels and consonants and this emphasis is clearly kept in view in comparing them with *nūpura*, i.e., anklets, of which the utility consists in the fact that they make some sound whereas the *kundala* or the earring has no such value. The same idea is expressed by another, Siddha Vināpāda (Caryā 17), when he says *ālī kālī benī sārī sunār*, i.e., "*ālī* and *kālī* are the two things which produce the notes in the strings of the *vinā*"

Another idea is attached to it when Luipāda in one of his Caryās (1) says *amḥe ghāne dithā*—*dhamana camana benī pāṇḍi bāthā* "I have

¹ The comments on these passages in order are

[1] बानदक्षिणामासद्वय मध्यमाया प्रवेशयित्वा

[2] No comment

[3] बान्दक्षिणामासद्वयपरिहारत्—

² The comments on these two passages are

[1] वज्रापोपदेशं लब्ध्वा आलिङ्ग्य लोकशानेन कालिना लोकमासेन च एकैकित्वावधूतीमार्गं सुदृढं बन्धत ।

[2] वज्रापपरिशोधितचन्द्रसूर्यादिकेन चन्द्रागूरुादिवैयकालिकद्वारं कृतम् ।

seen in meditation after sitting on (i.e., keeping under control) the two—*dhamaṇa* and *camana*. The Sanskrit commentary connects *dhamaṇa* with *ālī* and *sasīn* whereas *camana* is connected with *kālī* and may be thus derived from the root *dhānā* which indicates a forward or outward movement, whereas *camana* may be derived from the root *cam* which means 'to eat,' i.e., taking in.

Last of all in a *Caryā* of the *Siddha Dombipāda* (14) the sun and the moon are compared to the two rivers *Yamunā* and *Gangā*. *Gangā-Jaunā māṭhere bahar nār*—"the boat is being rowed (in a river) in the middle of the *Gangā* and the *Yamunā*." The commentator tells us that the *Gangā* is the moon and *Yamunā* is the sun.¹

We therefore get two groups of terms and each of them contains implications of the same nature. These two groups are

- I *ravi*, *sūrya* (compared to the *lāu* or gourd used for the *īnā*), *kālī*, *camana*, *jamnā* (the *Yamunā*)—placed on the *dāhina* or the right
- II *sasīn*, *candra* (compared to the *tantrī* or the string of the *īnā*), *ālī*, *dhamaṇa*, *Gangā*—placed on the *vāma* or the left

Now what do these two groups of terms really mean? On one occasion we have seen that the sun and the moon are called *lalanā* and *rasanā*. The commentator while explaining this particular portion of the *Caryā* says, that *lalanā* is seated in the left nostril in the form of moon (*candra*) which is the *Prajñā* and *rasanā* is seated in the right nostril in the form of the sun (*sūrya*) which is the *Upāya*. This can be further explained with the help of such authoritative Buddhist Tantras as the *Hevajra-Tantra* and the *Heruka-Tantra*.

In the *Hevajra* (Chap. I)² it is said that there are 32 *nāḍīs* within the body and they carry the *bodhicitta* upwards which ultimately pours

¹ The Sanskrit comment runs

गङ्गायमुनेति सन्ध्या चन्द्राभाससूर्याभासौ यास्तथाह्वयौ ।

² From a Nepalese MS of the text in my possession

दादिशत नाड्य द्वाविंशद्वेदिष्विषसवङ्गा । नङ्गासुखञ्जाने (१० स्थाने) खलन्त्य । तासां [] मध्ये तिष्ठन् नाड्य प्रधाना । ललना रसना अवधूति चेति ।

ललना प्रज्ञासभावेन रसनोपायसंस्थिता ।

अवधूति मध्यदेशे तु यास्तथाह्वयवर्जिता ॥

अशोभ्यवङ्गा ललना रसना रक्त[म]वाहिनी ।

प्रज्ञा चन्द्रवङ्गा ख्याता अवधूति सा प्रकीर्तिता ॥ (१)

आलि कालि चन्द्रसूर्ये प्रयोपाय ।

into the place of great bliss (*mahā-sukha-sthāna*) Three amongst the nāḍis are principal and they are called *lalanā*, *rasanā* and *avadhūti* The *lalanā* is characterised by *Praññā* and *rasanā* by *Upāya* whereas the *avadhūti* is seated in the middle and is beyond the reach of 'the taken' and 'the taker' (*grāhya-grāhaka*)—i.e. the object and the subject It is further said that the *lalanā* carries the *akṣobhya* (*Sukra* or the semen virile), and the *rasanā* carries the blood (*rakta*) It is besides pointed out in the same text that

ālī = *candra* = *praññā* and *kālī* = *sūrya* = *upāya*

Almost the same explanation is found in the *Heruka-Tantra*¹ in which it is said (Chap V) 'beginning from the region of the throat a nāḍī runs downwards along the left side up to the navel—it is the *candra*, *ālī* carries the *candra* On the right side beginning from the navel a nāḍī runs upwards to the region of the throat, it is the *sūrya*, *kālī* carries the *sūrya* Elsewhere in the same text it is said that *lalanā* is the carrier of *sukra* and the *rasanā* is the carrier of the blood, that *lalanā* relates to the *sambhoga-kāya*, and *rasanā* to the *nirmāṇa-kāya* whereas *avadhūti* relates to the *dharmakāya* (Chap VII)

This clearly relates to the nāḍis of which the existence within the body is supposed by the Hathayogins Such a hypothesis is also largely

¹ *Heruka-Tantra* [MS in my possession]—

Paṭala V 6 7

कच्छादारभ्य वामेन प्रवृत्ता नाभिमण्डले ।
नाडिकाधोमुखी चन्द्र आलिशन्दसमावहा ॥
नासैरारभ्य सभ्येन प्रवृत्ता कण्ठदेशत ।
नाडिकोर्ध्वमुखी सूर्य कालिशार्कसमावहा ॥

Paṭala VII 16 20

तेषा मध्ये स्थिता नाडी ललना सूत्र [sic शुक्र] (प्र, वाहिनी) ।
दक्षिणे रसना ख्याता नाडी रक्तप्रवाहिणी ॥
सहस्री मध्यभागेन हृत्सरोरुद्धमध्या ।
कदलिपुष्पसङ्काश लम्बमाना त्वचोमुखी ॥
तैलवर्णि[शि]खोद्गीर्णा बोधिवित्तसमावहा ।
सावधूती[ति] विज्ञेया सहजानन्ददायिका ॥
ललना प्रज्ञास्वभावेन रसनोपायसंस्थिता ।
अवधूती धर्मकाय स्यादिति कायवय मत् ॥
अवधूती मध्यदेशे तु शास्त्रयाहकवर्जिता ।
ललना सम्बोधिकाथो रसना नैर्नाथिकी तद्व ॥

corroborated by evidence from the Brahmanical Tantras and the Hathayoga literature. In the *Hathayoga-pradīpikā* IV, 9) it is said that the sun and the moon determine the time in the nature of day and night whereas *susumnā* (the *nāḍī* in the middle) eats up the time (*i.e.*, destroys its notion). Again while indicating the initial process of Yoga, namely, the *prāṇāyāma* or the regulation of breath, the same text says that the vital breath should be taken at first through the *candra* or moon and thrown out through the *sūrya* or the sun and then it should be taken through the sun and thrown out through the moon (II 5). The same process is indicated in another śloka (II 6) in a little different language which shows that Svātmārāma, the compiler of the *Hathayoga-pradīpikā* has culled the two ślokas from two different sources. The śloka runs the vital breath should be first taken in through the *idā* and thrown out through the other (*i.e.*, *pingalā*) and then it should be taken in through the *pingalā* and thrown out through the left one (*i.e.*, the *idā*), when this method of *sūrya* and *candramā* is practised for some time continuously all the *nāḍīs* become purified after three months. In the next stage of this Yoga the initiate has to hold the vital breath within himself in suspense and to send it through the *susumnā*, the *nāḍī* in the middle. This is sufficient to show that the Brahmanical tradition of Hathayoga considered *candra* to be the same *nāḍī* as *idā* situated on the left and *sūrya* to be the same as *pingalā* seated on the right. Further the *Hathayoga-pradīpikā* (III 33) says that *idā* is the goddess Gangā while *pingalā* is the river Yamunā (*idā bhagavati gangā pingalā yamunā nadi*).¹

¹ *Hathayogapradīpikā*

IV 9 सूर्याचन्द्रमसौ धत्त काल रात्रिदिवात्मकम् ।

भोक्त्री सुषुम्णा कालस्य गुह्यमेतदुदाहृतम् ॥

II 5 बहुपञ्चासनो योगी प्राण चन्द्रेण पूरयेत् ।

धारयित्वा यथाशक्ति भूय सूर्येण रेचयेत् ।

प्राण सूर्येण चाक्षय्य पूरयेद्दर शनैः ।

विशिवत् कुम्भक कृत्वा पुनश्चन्द्रेण रेचयेत् ॥

II 6 प्राण चेदिच्छया पिवेन्नियमितं सूत्रोऽन्वया रेचयेत् ।

पीत्वा पिङ्गल्या समीरणमयो बद्धा व्यजेद्वासवा ।

सूर्याचन्द्रमसोरनेन विधिनाभ्यास सदा तत्तुला ।

शुद्धा नाडीगत्या भवन्ति यमिना मासत्रयाद्दृष्टम् ॥

III 33 इडा भगवती गङ्गा पिङ्गला यमुना नदी ।

The *Sāradātīlaka*, an authoritative Brahmanical Tantra, says¹ (I 39) that the human body has two aspects, *agni* and *soma*, and this is why the *bindu* also has two aspects. The right portion is called *sūrya* and the left *śāsāhara*, i.e., moon. It further says that in the left there is the *nāḍī* *idā* and on the right *pingalā*. *Bindu* is supposed to be the cause of creation and its two aspects are explained by the commentator of the *Sāradātīlaka* as "*sukram agni ūpam raktaṁ soma ūpam*"—that is to say that the *bindu* is composed of two elements, *sukra* and *rakta* of which the former has the character of *agni* and the latter that of *Soma*. Further discussion of *bindu* on this basis is found in the texts of Kashmiri Śaivism like the *Kāmakalāvīlāsa* of Puṇyānanda². It is shown there that the *bindu* consists of two parts: one is white and the other is red and they represent the *Siva* and the *Sakti*.

In an unpublished work, called the *Akulugama-Tantra*³ which belongs to the Kaula school, it is pointed out that the individual soul can attain *Siva* by abandoning the left and the right through Yogic practice and by bringing together the two vital winds called *prāṇa* and *apāna*. In an attempt to define the left and the right it further gives a large number of terms for each. These terms may be thus classified:

- I *Dakṣiṇa*—*prāṇa*, *palita*, *sūksma*, *retas*, *sūrya*, *dhātma*, *agni*, *sthūla*, *para*, *dyau*, *bheda*, *citta*, *pingalā*, *yamunā*, *vidyā*, *bindu*, *rajas*, *bhāva*
- II *Vāma*—*apāna*, *balī*, *prakṛti*, *sthūla*, *rajas*, *candīa*, *adharma*, *soma*, *asthūla*, *apara*, *prthivī*, *abheda*, *acitta*, *idā*, *Jāhnavī*, *avidyā*, *nāda*, *tamas*, *abhāva*

¹ *Sāradātīlaka*—

I 39 40 अग्नीशोमात्मको देहो विदुर्देहभयात्मक ।
दक्षिणाश्च स्यात् सुखो वामभागो निशाकर ।
इडा वामे ततोर्मध्ये सुषुम्णा पिङ्गला परे ।

² *Kāmakalāvīlāsa*—

6 सितशोणबिन्दुयुगल विविक्तशिवशक्तिसङ्कचत्प्रसरत् ।

³ A Nepalese MS of this work has been recently acquired for the *Bengal Manuscript Library*, Calcutta University. For a detailed notice on this work see my edition of the *Āṇḍajñānanāṇḍa*, the Calcutta Oriental Series, No III. The discussion regarding 'the left' and 'the right' occurs in I 98 ff and II 26 ff.

जीवश्च शिवसायुज्य योगाभ्यासेन पार्वति ।
वामदक्षिणं त्यक्त्वा प्राणसूत्रे समन्वयेत् ॥
बली [प्र]कृति विख्याता पलित पुरुष स्मृत ।
स्थूलसूक्ष्मादिभिर्मात्रैर्विवेकी समवस्थितौ ॥

If we now classify all the terms of the two categories the two groups stand thus

I *Dakṣina*—*rasanā*, *pinṇalā*, *sūrya*, *ravi*, *agni*, *prāna*, *camana*, *kālī*, *bindu*, *upāya*, *yamunā*, *rakta*['], *palita*, *sūkṣma*, *retas*, *dharma*, *sthira*, *pāra*, *dyau*, *bheda*, *citta*, *vidyā*, *rajas*, *bhāra*, *pinusa*, *sua*,—*nirmāna-lāya* and *grāhya*

II *Āma*—*lalanā*, *idā*, *candīa*, *sasin*, *soma*, *apāna*, *dhamana*, *ātī*, *nāda*, *prajñā*, *gangā*, *śukla*['] *baḥi*, *sthūla* *rajas*, *adhūma*, *asthira*, *apura*, *prthivī*, *abheda*, *acitta*, *avidyā*, *tamas*, *abhāra*, *prakṛti*, *saḥi*,—*sambhogalāya* and *grāhaka*¹

It is not possible for us to say anything about the nādis of which the existence is supposed by the Hathayogins within the body. It is no more possible for us to speak on the physiological changes which these yogins are supposed to experience in the initial stage of the yoga as well as in the advanced stage which brings in samādhi, but it is possible to follow these mystics up to a certain point in their use of the terms mentioned above.

When *prāna* and *camana* are used for the right side and *apāna* and *dhamana* for the left, it seems that air has been taken as the basis of life and hence of creation. The first two mean the inspiration and the second two expnation and in these two functions of the vital wind, within the body

रजो रेतस्योर्नाम सूर्याचन्द्रमसौ प्रिये ।
 धर्माधर्मादुभावेदौ समासौ तु शरीरिणो ।
 अग्नीषोमात्मसौ विद्धि अक्षोपाचखरूपसौ ॥
 सत्यादृतसमाख्यातौ दल्लक्षणौ प्रकौर्त्तिती ।
 सूर्याचन्द्रमसौ त्रयौ स्थिरास्थिरपरपरौ ॥
 दावापृथ्वीति विख्यातौ सदासतौ(?) चराचरौ ।
 हासपण्याविसौ(?) जीवौ यच्च ते वेदमात्मनौ ॥
 मेदाग्नेदौ मोक्षबन्धौ चित्ताचित्तौ च बन्धते ।
 इडापिङ्गलानाख्यौ आह्नवीयसुने च तौ ॥
 किं पुनर्बहुनोक्तेन विद्याविद्यात्मसौ प्रिये ।

¹ I should admit that regarding the position of some terms there is uncertainty. The Buddhist texts seem to prefer an inversion in case of *āl-kāl*, *prajñā-upāya*, *rakta fakra*, and *grāhaka grāhya*. The other terms of the Buddhist texts conform to the order in which they are found in the Brahmanical texts. The inversion may be due to some confusion or it may be deliberate, because it appears in some cases that the functions ascribed to the nādis are transferable. Cf. *Hathayogapradīpikā*, II 6, text quoted in note 1, p. 67.

of the individual, depend many of his notions of the external world. His notion of time is absolutely dependent on it from a subjective point of view. Therefore when these two functions of the air stop, notion of time also disappears. The claim of the yogin is that it is possible to stop these two functions of the wind and to hold it within (*kumbhaka*) and through that complete *samādhi* can be attained.¹

If the notion of time is dependent on the two functions of the vital wind, inspiration and expiration, then the implication of such terms as *sūrya* and *candra* or *ravi* and *śaśin* becomes clear. The sun and the moon are really symbols of day and night and our notion of time is also based on them. The perception of the objective world is also based on them. The direct aim of the yogin is to extirpate such notions and thus to proceed towards *samādhi*. This is why it has been said on so many occasions that 'the sun' and 'the moon' should be killed.

When sound is taken as the basis of creation as has been done by the *śphotavādins*, the question of *bindu* and *nāda* or *kālī* and *ālī* comes in. Without going in to the subtler aspects of this problem it may be pointed out that *bindu* is conceived as the subtle and inaudible form of sound whereas the *nāda* is the more audible form of it. They are characterised as *cit* and *act*, *bindu* is conscious whereas *nāda* is unconscious. It can be further pointed out that the Kāśmīr school of thinkers follow this line of thought still further and think that *bindu* and *nāda* represent *icchā* and *kriyā* or *prakāśa* and *vimarśa*, one meaning the desire of and the other an effort at realisation, *bindu* represents the desire and *nāda*, the effort. The two terms *nirmāṇa-kāya* and *sambhoga-kāya*, which we have found in the Buddhist texts imply the same tendencies. The *nirmāṇa* implies a tendency towards creation, whereas *sambhoga*, a realisation or fulfilment of that tendency. Some other terms *Purusa* and *Prakṛti*, *Śiva* and *Śakti*, *rajas* and *tamas*, *vidyā* and *avidyā*, *retas* and *rajas*, etc., may be explained in this light. The two tendencies implied by these terms lead to creation and bind down the subject to the object, the individual to the illusory world. The yogin has got to control these two tendencies, bring about their unification and when this unification is complete the *samādhi* and a state of perfect bliss are attained.

¹ For determining the meaning of the two terms *camana* and *dhamana* I am indebted to my friend and colleague Mr K C Chatterji. As regards the claim to stop the two functions of the air cf *Hatha* III 19.

प्राणायामी नादबिन्दु मूलबन्धेन चैकताम् ।

नन्वा योगस्य सन्निधिं गच्छतीति नात्र संशयः ॥

I have left out till now the two words *kālī* and *ālī* or 'the consonants' and 'the vowels' It has been said before that in the use of these two terms emphasis is laid on the sound In the consideration of these two terms, therefore, sound has been taken to be the basis of creation as in the case of *brndu* and *nāda* Extending the same analogy we may say that *kālī*, i e, the consonant, is the less audible expression of the *mātrkāś* whereas the *ālī* is their more audible expression So far, there is no difficulty but if we say that the sound in its tendency towards expression first gives rise to the consonants and then to the vowels we would be led to a theory which is contrary to what some of the Brahmanical treatises would have us believe¹

Last of all the two terms *upāya* and *prajñā* raise a similar difficulty In the Buddhist texts referred to above, it is clearly said that *upāya* is connected with *kālī*, i e, the consonants whereas *prajñā* with *ālī*, i e, the vowels The *prajñā*, therefore, in conformity with the previous analogy, should be taken to be the less distinct and less conscious element whereas *upāya* is the more distinct and more conscious element

But *kālī* and *ālī*, *upāya* and *prajñā* may be explained from another point of view and this time along the *Yamunā* and *Gangā* The natural relation of these two rivers is that *Gangā* is the more important river and the *Yamunā* being only its tributary supplies water to it and the former feeds on that water Thus *Gangā* is the *grāhaka* and *Yamunā* is the *grāhya* In conformity with this analogy *ālī* is the more important sound as it is more audible and *kālī* for its expression depends on the help received from the *ālī*, i e, the vowels In other words the consonants can be distinctly pronounced only with the help of vowels and from this point of view *kālī* is the *grāhaka* and *ālī* is the *grāhya* In the same way if *upāya* involves a certain desire (*icchā*) for self-expression *prajñā* (sapience) can be said to be dependent on it, the *candra* (moon) also depends on the *sūrya* (sun) for its self-expression Thus *prajñā* is the *grāhaka*, *upāya* the *grāhya* and *candra* is the *grāhaka*, *sūrya* the *grāhya*

¹ As to the theory which occurs in the Brahmanical texts, of the passage of the *Āitareya Āraṇyaka* discussed *infra*, also the passage quoted by Amṛtānandanātha in his commentary on *Yogmihṛdayadīpikā* under I 14

अकार सर्ववर्त्तमानं प्रकाशं परमं शिवम् ।

इकारोऽन्वयकलाहपो विमर्शश्च प्रकीर्तितः ॥

Besides, of the two words *vyāñjana* and *svara*, the former is etymologically associated with darkness (*añjana*) and the latter with light "that which is self-existent"

On this analogy the other terms *pingalā* and *idā*, *agni* and *soma* also may be explained. *Pingalā* seems to be the *agni*, fire, as it indicates the colour of fire (*pingalā*) whereas *idā* which means 'nourishment' is taken as the personification of the offering. *Soma* is also the offering. This offering which is meant for the gods is without any value unless it gets the help of the *agni* which is supposed to carry it to the proper destination. It seems that as it *idā* the 'personified offering' wants to reach the gods and she avails herself of the help of *agni* to reach there. *Idā* is therefore the *grāhaka* and *agni* is the *grāhya*.

I do not want to carry this analogy further. But from what I have said it is probably clear that the two categories of terms which I have discussed, apart from the mechanism of Haṭhayoga, seem to have been selected according to certain principles. As in almost all the texts greater emphasis is laid on the terms *pingalā* and *idā* and *agni* and *soma*, terms connected with the sacrifice, it seems that according to some thinkers the sacrifice performed outside had also its counterpart within the body¹ and through an extension of this analogy some terms relating to the external sacrifice were applied to indicate the old notions of some functions of the basic elements within the body.

There is no doubt that some of these notions are very old. The *Chāndogya-upamsad*, which is in parts obscure for its mystic trend, contains a passage which is significant (VIII 13). "The space within is as vast as the external sky. In both of these are united *the earth and the heaven*, the fire and the air, *the sun and the moon*, the lightning and constellations, *whatever relates to one also relates to the other*."

In many places of the *Chāndogya* as well as of other *upamsads* references are made to *hrdayasya nāḍyāḥ*, i.e., the *nāḍīs* within the body. In the *Chāndogya* (VIII 61) these *nāḍīs* are once called *pingalā* because the sun is *pingalā*. The reason for this is thus given. "As a route established between two villages connects both, so the rays of the sun go to both the worlds and from the sun above are propagated in the *nāḍīs*."

Elsewhere in the *Chāndogya* (III 13) it is said that the vital air within, passes through five different channels (*susī*) and of these five "the *prāṇa* is the eastern channel, it is the eye, the sun (*āditya*), and the force (*tejas*) the *apāna* is the western channel, it is the speech, the fire—the *vyāṇa* is the southern channel, it is the ear, the moon (*candra*)"

¹ The fundamental principle of the tantras on this point has been clearly brought out by Sir John Woodroffe *Shakti and Shaktia*, p. 408—"the man is a Microcosm, whatever exists in the outer universe exists in him."

But a somewhat different idea is also recorded in the *Chândogya* (I 3) when it is said that *vyāna* is the combination of the *prāna* and *apāna* and it is the speech because inspiration and expiration stops when one speaks.

Now the speech which is here said to combine in it the two motions of the vital air consists of the consonants and the vowels, *vyañjana* and *svara* which are described in the later texts as *kāl* and *āl*, as the sun and the moon, the day and the night. A similar idea is contained in the *Āitareya-Āraṇyaka* (II 2 4) where it is said *vyāñjanairiva rātri-rāpnuvanti svarai-rahāni*, i.e., "night is obtained through the consonants, and day through the vowels." In the Buddhist texts there is an inversion of this notion.

Finally, I cannot help referring to two passages of the *Atharvaveda* in this connection. In the *Atharva* XI 4 12 and 21 certain ideas are expressed which seem to bear comparison to what I have said.

- 12 The *Prāna* is the sun and the moon, the *Prāna* is the *Prajāpati*.
- 21 The *hamsa* does not take one of his feet from the water, if he had done so there would be no more to-day and to-morrow, no more day and night.¹

SOME ASPECTS OF BUDDHIST MYSTICISM IN THE CARYĀPADAS

The Caryāpadas¹ were published for the first time by the late Dī H P Shāstī from an old manuscript discovered in Nepal. The work is a collection of 50 Caryāpadas, of which three are now missing, they were composed by various authors like Sarāhapāda, Kānhupāda (*alias* Kṛṣṇācārya), Bhusuku, Dombī, all of whom appear in the list of 84 Siddhas who had flourished some time between the 10th and 12th centuries A D. As the manuscript was unique and as the language of the text was unfamiliar the learned editor could not settle the text in a satisfactory way. Since then Dr S K Chatterji has studied the language of these texts and characterised it as old Bengali² (*The Origin and Development of the Bengali Language*, I, p 112). Some time ago Dī Shahīdullah re-edited the Caryās of Sarāha and Kānhu in the appendix to his work—*Les Chants Mystiques*, but for the want either of a second manuscript or of a Tibetan translation the text could not be settled to his entire satisfaction though many improvements were made. The main thesis of Dr Shahīdullah being the study of Dohās he had no occasion to pay special attention to the esoteric doctrines of the Caryās.

The Tibetan translation of the text so long searched for in vain is however preserved in the *Bstan-hgyur*, Vol XLVII, 85 (Cordier, *Catalogue* II, p 225)—the *Spyod pa'z glu'z mdsed kyi 'grel pa shes bya ba*—the *Caryāgātikośa-vṛtti-nāmā* (Narthang, XLVII, pp 161-205). The work,

¹ *Bauddha Gān O Dohā*, publication of the *Vaṅgiya Sāhitya Pariṣat*, Calcutta. A second revised edition of the book prepared by me in collaboration with Dr S K Chatterji, M A, D Lit (London), is in course of impression.

² Dr S K Chatterji has given his reasons in detail in his book. The most definite Bengali characteristics of this language are the genitive in—*era, ara* (এর, অর), dative in *re* (রে), locative in *ta* (ত), post positional words like *mājha* (মাঝ), *antara* (অন্তর), *sāṅga* (সাঙ্গ), past and future bases in *il, ib* (ইল, ইব), and not *-al, ab* of Bihari, present participle in *anta* (অন্ত) conjunctive in *ilē* (ইলে), passive in *-ia* (ইঅ), substantive roots *āch* (আছ), and *thak* (থাক), and not *thik* (থিক) of Marathi or *thā* of Oriyā and a number of Bengali idioms. But it is strange that Mr Jayaswal in his Presidential address to the 7th All India Oriental Conference of Baroda, without any reference to the work of Dr Chatterji and without going into the philological evidence adduced by him, has formally accepted the theory of Rev R Sankṛityāyana, that the language of the Caryāpadas is old Bihari. This theory formulated by the latter for the first time in the Hindi Magazine *Gangā* has no critical value whatsoever.

which contains the translation of both the Caryās and their Sanskrit Commentary, was compiled by Munidatta and translated by Kirticandra in the city of Yambu in Nepal

The Tibetan translation helps us in determining the exact name of the work Dr H P Shāstrī published the work under the caption *Caryācarya-viniscaya* which is however not found anywhere in the text But it was certainly not his invention In the opening verse of the Sanskrit commentary on the first Caryā attributed to Luvi-pāda it is said—
 श्रोलुयीचरणादि-सिद्धचितेऽप्याश्चर्यचर्योचरं [MS has —इत्याश्च] which is translated in Tibetan as—“dpal ldan Lū yi shabs sogs grub pa rnam kyis gsuns sin ya (? *sin tu*) mtshan spyod pa'i glu yi thogs” Thus the name of the text which appears in the Sanskrit verse as *iscarya caryācaya*¹ is also translated as the “very wonderful Caryā songs” It therefore seems that the name chosen by Dr Shāstrī was based on a wrong reading of the title—*Caryāscarya-viniscaya* which however was not exactly quoted but suggested in the Sanskrit verse referred to The name preserved in Tibetan *Caryāgītīkosa vṛtti* refers to the commentary and thus *Caryāgītīkosa* might have been another name under which the collection of the Caryās was known

The special terminology which has been used in the Caryās for preaching the esoteric doctrines is characterised in the text as *Sandhyā-bhāṣā* Pandit Vidhuśekhara Shāstrī² with the help of a large number of texts pointed out that it should be corrected as *Sandhā-bhāṣā* meaning “intentional speech” and not “the twilight language” as Dr H P Shāstrī maintained and as some scholars still continue to maintain in spite of what has been said to the contrary The Tibetan translation of the Caryāpadas and their commentary now amply confirms what Pandit Vidhuśekhara Shāstrī suggested

In some places of the Sanskrit commentary the words *abhisandhya* and *sandhyayā* (to be corrected as *sandhayā*) occur in the same sense p 8—(Comm on the Caryā of Virūva) *gurūpadesād abhisandhya*, p 11—(the Caryā of Cātilla), *nadī-sandhyayā boddhavyam*, p 29—(the Caryā of Mahidhara), *Cittagajendrasandhyayā tamevāiṥam pratipādayati*, p 40—(the Caryā of Kāṇhu) *sandhyayā prānāpānam parikalpya* In all these cases *abhisandhya* and *sandhyayā* (sic *sandhayā*) are translated in Tibetan as “dgons pa'i skad kyis,” i.e., by means of intentional language

¹ Pandit Vidhuśekhara Shāstrī suggested this as the correct form of the title in a note published in the Bengali Journal *Prabasi*

² *H Q*, 4, 1928, 287 ff

In several other cases the same sense is brought out by the words *vyāja* and *utpreksā* p 16—(the Cāyā of Kambala) *karuṇāvyājena karuṇeti sandhyā* (sic *sandhā*)-*bhāsayā utprekṣālanhāparāṃ boddhavyam*, p 18—(the Cāyā of Kāṇhu) *sandhyābhāsayā* (sic) *tamevārttham utprekṣayantah*, p 26—, the 'āyā of Dombi) *naukāpravāhavyājena prakatayati* and p 73—(the Cāyā of Bhusukupāda) *langālikavyā,ena tamevārttham pratipādayati* In all these cases again the words *vyāja* and *utpreksā* are rendered into Tibetan by "dgons pa'i skad kyi," i.e., by means of intentional language The word "dgons pa" means—to purpose, to intend, to think, to cogitate, etc Though it does not faithfully bring out the sense of *vyāja* and *utpreksā* still it becomes clear that though *sandhā* primarily meant 'intention' in these cases it was used in a technical sense to mean a particular way of expression to explain the mystic doctrines as intended by the speaker by analogy (*vyāja*, *utpreksā*)

In the Cāyāpadas the mystic doctrines have often been described by analogy and for this purpose a number of images has been chosen I will first of all discuss these images

(i) *The image of boat*—In the Cāyās Nos 13, 14 and 38, attributed respectively to Kāṇhu, Dombi and Saraha, the image of boat and the analogy of rowing have been used to explain some of the doctrines While commenting on these songs the Sanskrit commentary warns us *naukā sandhyābhāsayā boddhavyam, naukāpravāha-vyājena prakatayati, kāyanaukavyājena pratipādayati* or *kāyam naukām parikalpya*, etc In No 3 Kāṇhu says that he has made a boat of the three refuges (*trisarana*) and has mastered the eight (divine powers) Thus has he crossed the ocean of the world after having counted all the waves in the mid-sea The five *tathāgatas* are his oars and the *citta* is the helmsman Thus has he proceeded to the island of Great Bliss In No 14 Dombipāda says that the boat plies between the Gangā and the Yamunā and there the old Mātangī takes the yogins to the other bank without effort Dombipāda urges himself to ply the boat with the five oars He says that the rope should be tied well on the back, water which may enter into the boat through the joints should be thrown out with the help of the *secanī* which is the sky (*gagana*) The Sun and the Moon, the two wheels of creation and destruction, should be converted into parts of the boat The boat thus taken plies at ease, and the two banks become no longer visible In No 38, the song of Saraha, the *kāya* is the boat, the purified mind is the oar and advices of the Guru are the sails Advice is given that while plying the boat it should be always kept near the Sahaja and as there

are difficulties on the way the boat should always keep near the *Ālā* when going against the strong current. Thus only it can reach the sky (*gagana*)

Kambalāmbharapāda in his Caryā (No 8) uses again the image of boat. He says—"Kambala has filled his boat of compassion (*farunā*, with gold and there is no place for silver in it. He wants to take the boat towards the sky. He has now uprooted the post to which the boat was fixed and takes the boat keeping near the right and left sides. He attains the Great Bliss on the way."

(ii) *The image of rat*—In one of the Songs of Bhusukupāda the image of rat is used (No 21) and in this case also the commentary says that *mūsaka sandhyā-vacanena pratipādayati*. The author says "The night is dark and the play of the rat begins. The rat drinks the nectar. Kill this rat-wind so that the coming and going may be stopped. The rat brings in transmigration and digs holes. The rat which thus brings in calamities has no colour. When it ascends the sky (*gagana*) and drinks the nectar there, it becomes restless. It is then to be pacified with the advice of the Guru. When the play of the rat is thus stopped the ties are broken asunder."

(iii) *The image of the stringed musical instrument, Vīṇā*—In the (aryāpāda No 17 the Siddha Vīṇāpāda uses the analogy of a Vīṇā. He says that he has made a new kind of Vīṇā of which the sun is the gourd, the moon is the string, and the Avadhūti is the stand (*dāndī*) which produces sound even without being struck. Vīṇāpāda says—"Friend, hark the Heruka-vīṇā is being played. The notes of the string are being heard. The best of elephants on hearing the sounds, *āl* and *kāl*, now enter the *samarasa*. When the striker presses (the string) the sounds of the 32 strings spread everywhere, the king then dances and the queen sings. This is the Buddha-nāṭaka."

(iv) *The image of elephant*—In the last song we have already found reference to an elephant which is called the best of elephants—*gaṇavara*. In a large number of the Caryāpādas use is made of the image of the elephant but, the most important case where the image has been fully worked out is in, the song of Mahidharapāda, No 16. The commentary on this song says—*cittagaṇendra sandhyayā pratipādayati*. Mahidharapāda says "Along the three planks (*pāṭa*) terrible noise, not produced by any agent but spontaneous, is being heard. At this noise both the *māra* and the world are destroyed. The great elephant, the Citta, now runs towards the end of the sky and rubs the sun and

the moon together. After demolishing the posts and breaking the chains which are the merits and the demerits the elephant now runs towards the sound in the sky and enters into the *nirvāna*-lake. There he drinks the great wine, *mahārāsa*. He is now indifferent towards the three worlds and is the conqueror of the five objects of senses. He has now entered deep (into the sky) and nobody can see him." Kānhu in some of his songs uses the image of elephant. In Caryā No 9 he compares himself with the elephant and says—"After having broken the two posts *evam* and torn asunder the various chains Kānhu has entered the lotus forest of Sahaja and has become intoxicated by drinking the wine. And now just as the elephant throws rut at the she-elephant the *citta* is pouring the *tathatā* wine." In Caryā No 12 in connection with another image Kānhu again uses the image of elephant and says that he has destroyed the five (objects) with the help of the elephant.

(v) *The image of deer*—Bhusukupāda in one of his songs (No 6), makes use of the image of a deer. The Sanskrit commentary says *Bhusukupāda harinā-sabda sandhyābhāṣayā kathayati*. Bhusuku says—"The hunters have surrounded the forest and their cry is being heard. The deer has become his own enemy for his flesh. The hunters do not leave Bhusuku (the deer) for a moment. The deer now gives up his food and drink. The doe advises the deer to leave the forest and to go (with her). The deer runs away so fast that even his hoofs cannot be seen."

(vi) *The analogy of union*—In some of the Caryāpadas the authors address some female companion and say that marriage with her has led to the attainment of great bliss. Thus in song No 10 Kānupāda addresses a Dombī, a low-caste woman, and the Sanskrit commentary clearly says *dombīśabdah sandhyābhāṣayā kathayati*. Kānhu says "Oh Dombī, you live outside the city but how is it that you have now dared to touch the son of a Brāhmaṇa. But oh Dombī, I will live with you because I am only a naked Yogin who uses the skull (for drinking) and is hated by all. The lotus is one but it has 64 petals and the Dombī is now dancing on it. She is now eating the lotus stalk in the lake. I shall now get hold of her and reach the other shore." In song No 19 Kānhu describes his marriage with the Dombī, in the following terms. The existence (*bhava*) and *nirvāna*, and the mind and the vital air (*manapabana*) are serving as different musical instruments. Kānhu is going to marry the Dombī. After marrying her he has now stopped further birth, and got the *anuttara* world as the dowry. He is now spending his time in her company surrounded by the Yoginīs in great bliss.

Whoever has once lived with the Dombi can never leave her for a moment and is maddened by the Sahaja bliss ”

(vi) *The analogy of the fermentation of wine*—Virūpāpāda in one of his Caryās (No 3) introduces the analogy of the fermentation of wine. He says “The female wine-dealer (*sundarī*) is alone but she enters both the chambers and introduces the powder (?) for fermenting the wine. The wine now flows straight towards the Sahaja and that brings immortality. On seeing the sign (of the wine) at the tenth door the customer comes of himself and after visiting the 64 stations enters without leaving any sign behind. The pipe of the vessel is narrow and therefore the wine should be sent through it carefully ”

(viii) *Analogy of carding the cotton*—In Caryāpāda No 26 Śāntipāda uses the analogy of cotton carding. He says “I have carded the cotton to fine threads and again reduced these threads to non-entity, but still I have not been able to get at the Heruka. While carding the cotton I have gone to sky (*sūnya*). The two ways on either sides are no longer seen and nothing enters into the sky. There is no cause and effect. I can be only perceived by my own self ”

In the images of the boat the words which serve as the key to the mystic significance are—the boat, the five oars, the helmsman, the way along which the boat sails, the posts to which the boat is fixed before starting, the rope by which it is fixed, and the *sscanī* by which water is thrown out from the boat, and finally the destination of the boat.

The boat stands for *karuṇā*, compassion, which is explained as *bodhicitta* (8), the *triśarana* which is explained in the commentary as “the refuge of the three—” (*kāya, vāk, citta*) or in other words, the *mahāsukkhakāya* in which these disappear (13), the *śukranādikā* which is located within the middlemost *nāḍī, viś, avadhūtikā* (14), and last of all for *kāya* (38) by which evidently *mahāsukkhakāya* is again meant ¹

The five oars stand for the five *tathāgatas* (13). The five *tathāgatas* are explained as the purified body (of which the five *tathāgatas* presiding over the five senses are the essence). In one case the *mana* (38) which combines in itself the essence of the five senses in its purified state is

¹ कश्चेति सव्याभाषया [SIC सव्याभाषया] तस्मै बोधिविषय नावी [com 8], तिष्ठरवेत्यादि त्रय कायवाच्यमित्। यस्मिन् चतुर्थे शरणे लीन नत त महासुखकाय नौका सव्याभाषया बोधव्यम् [com 13], शुक्रनाडिका विरमानन्दावधूतिकाया मध्ये वर्तते। सा एव नौ सव्याभाषया बोधव्या [com 14], काचप्यावडि—वाषाराधेयसम्बन्धेन कायनौका परिकल्प्य [com 38]

compared with the oars Elsewhere (13) this idea has led to the comparison of the *citta* with the helmsman *karnadhāra* ¹

The two posts to which the boat is fixed stand for the illusion of the phenomenal world, *ābhāsadosam* (8) The rope by which the boat is tied to the post stands for the *bodhicitta* (14) in its *sāmaṃtīka* or impure worldly state and also for *avidyāsūtra*, i e, tie of illusion (8) The *secanī* by which the water or the impurities that may come in are to be thrown out stands for the *sūnya* or vacuity (14) ²

The path along which the boat is to sail is the middlemost one in which both the right and left are combined (8) that is located between the Gangā and the Yamunā (14), and along this path which is full of dangers the boat has to proceed against the current (38) ³

The destination is described as *mahāsukha*—the knowledge of *nairātmā* (8), the *mahāsukhaśaṅkharādvīpa*, i e, the island of great bliss situated in the [ocean of] vacuity (13), the *jinapura* explained as the city of great bliss (14) and the *gagana*, i e, the vacuity (38) ⁴

These images imply certain Yogic processes The principal idea is that the boat is to be safely taken to the island of great bliss along the middle path steering clear away from the two sides It is fixed to the two posts by means of a rope which should be torn asunder The island of great bliss is situated in the ocean of vacuity

The boat is the *bodhicitta* which is the semen virile (*sukra*) It is claimed that by certain Yogic practices it can be carried up to the head In the ordinary state it remains restless and binds one to the illusory

¹ विशुद्धपञ्चतथागतात्मकं स्वदेहं केलिपातं परिकल्प्य स्वाम्भ्यं धातुश्च तथेन्द्रियाणि, पञ्चैव पञ्चैव कृतप्रसेदाः । तथाभूताधिष्ठित एका एकश्च, स सारकर्मणां कृतो भवन्ति ॥ [com 13] मनोविज्ञान केलिपातश्च [com 38], सर्वस्वाकारवरोपेतशून्यतामार्गं चित्तकर्मधार समारोप्य [com 13]

² खुष्टिका आभासदीपम् । कच्छिका अविद्यासूत्रश्च [com], कच्छिका मणिमूलं गतम्, तदेव बोधचित्तं सङ्गजानन्देन विद्धतं सद्वैमल्यचक्रोद्देशेन प्रवाहं कुरु । गगनदुखोलकं चतुर्थाभिप्रेक्ष्य सिध्यमानं योगीन्द्रस्य काये पानीयं विषयोल्लोलं विद्यति । [com 14]

³ वामदक्षिणमाभासद्वयं मध्यमायां प्रवेशयित्वा [com 8], गङ्गायमुनेति सम्यया चन्द्राभाससूर्याभासौ बाह्यावाहकौ [com 14], खानपानविषयासक्तिर्लेन साधको यदा मार्गचष्टो भवति अवधूती गत्वा जहातीति । [com 38]

⁴ महासुखचक्रसमुद्गोद्देशेन यदा मिलितं तस्मिन् मार्गे महासुखसङ्ग-नैरात्माज्ञानाभिसं गमया प्राप्तमिति । [com 8], महासुखचक्रदीपं गता [com 13], जिनपुरं महासुखपुरं [com 14], गगनेति वैमल्यचक्रदीपे [com 38]

would. In that state it is *sāmaṃvṛtika* but when it is carried upwards it loses its restless character and produces a state of great bliss. In this state it is *Pāramāṃthika*. It then becomes the source of supreme qualities to the Yogin. When the *bodhicitta* proceeds upwards as the result of a sort of revolution within, there is introversion of all the faculties of the senses, and of the vital wind. They then, without becoming the source of distraction to the Yogin and of his bondage to the illusory world, all help him in his march to the higher plane where he enjoys a state of great bliss. Now while this introversion or internal revolution takes place the *bodhicitta* in its upward march follows three principal channels, called the *nāḍīs*. Connexion with the external world still continues and is not completely severed. This connexion totally ceases at a stage where the three meet together to form a single channel only. This is implied by saying that the boat should steer clear of the two paths on the right and left which are full of dangers.¹

The revolution is brought about by meditating on the vacuity (*śūnya samāhṛi*) and through further concentration on it the influx of the illusion of the objective world can be stopped. This is why the vacuity has been compared with the *secanī* and it has been said that if any water enters the boat through its leakage it should be thrown out with the help of this *secanī*.

In the image of rat, the rat itself stands for the *cittapabana*—the vital air which is ordinarily restless like the rat. As long as the darkness of night remains the rat moves on and drinks the nectar stealthily. Similarly, as long as the instruction of the Guru is not obtained and the restlessness of the vital air is not stopped it contributes to the loss of the *bodhicitta* but when it becomes quiet there is no more loss, the Sahaja bliss is then attained and the worldly ties are broken.²

¹ The Yogic method by which the *bodhicitta* can be carried upwards is referred to in many places of the present text. Cf. also the quotation from *Sekoddessa*, a work now lost, in the commentary to the Caryā No. 3.

यावन्तो पतति प्रभास्वरमथ शोताशुधाराद्रवी

देवीपद्मदलोदरे समरसीभूतो जिनाना गन्धै ।

स्फूर्जद् [szo MS स्फूर्त्] वज्रशिखायत, करुणया भिन्न जगतकारण

गर्ज्ज्ज्वीकरुणावलस्य सहज जानीहि रूप विभु ॥

² मूषक सन्धावचने चित्तपवन बोद्धव्य । निशि प्रज्ञा कर्माङ्गना वा बोद्धव्या । तस्या कर्माङ्गनाया विचित्रादिचक्षुषे काशानन्दादिश्यापारद्वारेण बीधिविज्ञाप्तास्तादाहार स एव मूषक चित्तपवन स्वर्ग करोति । [com 21]

The same Yogic process which has been explained above is again implied here. The rat is the vital air in its restless state before the revolution takes place. This is why the *boḍhicitta* also remains restless in its *sāmrāthika* state and is subject to loss and decay. This is implied by saying that the rat in the darkness of the night drinks the nectar stealthily. But after the revolution the vital air ascends upwards, gets pacified, helps in pacifying the *boḍhicitta* which then attains the *pāramāthika* state and brings about the Sahaja bliss.

In the image of the stringed instrument (*Pinā*) the words which are important are—the gourd, the strings and the stand (*dāndi*) to which these are fitted. The gourd is the *Sūrya* and the string, the *Candra*. These represent the two *nāḍis* on both sides and the stand represents the *avadhūti*, the *nāḍi* in the middle. When the first two are brought together and fixed on to the middle one a music which is not produced by any agent but spontaneous is heard within and this music is resounded in all the *nāḍis*. When this music is heard by the *gajara*, the best elephant [which is explained as the *citta*], it proceeds upwards to drink the *samarasa*. When the music continues, the king, *i.e.*, the Yogin dances and the queen, *i.e.*, *Narātma-yoginī* sings.¹

The image of the stringed musical instrument has close similarity with the analogy of cotton-carding used by Śāntipāda in Caryā No 26. The instrument used for carding the cotton is also a stringed instrument consisting of a stand to which the string is fixed. When the string is struck against the cotton, the cotton gradually gets reduced to fine threads. The cotton here stands for the illusory world.²

According to the mechanism of the Yoga already referred to, when the revolution takes place and the faculties of the senses are on their upward move the internal *nāḍis* are said to receive the currents and vibrate. This vibration becomes gradually more and more intense till at last the objective world disappears from view and the Yogin finds himself established in the vacuity. This is the state that is described by the present image. As the movement of the string continues, the cotton, *i.e.*, the illusory world, gradually gets reduced to non-entity and dualistic

¹ सूर्याभासं तु विनाकारमुतप्रेक्ष्य चन्द्राभासिनं तन्मिकाञ्च । विषयचक्रोऽवधूतिकया सह एकौक्यं
अनाहतदण्डिकाया लगावयित्वा अनाहतं घोषयन्ति । [राजिल] वीणापादा वज्रधरपदेन नृत्यं कुर्वन्ति ।
तेषां देवी योगिनी नैरात्मादिकाश्च गीतिकया सञ्ज्ञायनमङ्गलं कुर्वन्ति ।

² तुल्येति प्रकृतिदीपत्वात् तुल्यनयोग्यनैलोक्यं कायवाक्चित्तम् [com 26]

knowledge is altogether stopped ¹ When the state of vacuity is attained there is no more effect of causality and no more disturbance of the peace This state is said to be indescribable

In the image of the stringed musical instrument and instrument for carding cotton we have seen that there is the question of a sound—a sound that is spontaneous and not produced by any agent—which vibrates in the different internal *nāḍīs* and particularly in the three principal ones In the image of elephant (Caryā No 16) there is again the question of this sound which is heard along the three planks ² or the principal *nāḍīs* () The elephant which stands for the *citta* in this case is maddened by this sound and marches at once upwards to the sky, i.e., the vacuity He rubs the sun and the moon together and demolishes the two posts and breaks the chains which bind him to them The sun and the moon and the two posts which are explained as merit and demerit stand for the illusion of the material world which has two aspects We have seen before that as long as the *citta* does not reach the point where the two *nāḍīs*, the left and the right, do not get united with the middle one and form altogether one single channel, the influx of illusion continues When the *citta* attains that point in its upward march it reaches the vacuity without any hindrance at all, drinks the nectar there and enjoys the great bliss This has been brought out by saying that the elephant has now reached the end of the sky³ and has become mad after drinking the great wine It is this sense which has been brought out in the other images of the elephant which has been referred to When it is said that the *citta* is pouring *tathatā* wine the meaning seems to be that the *citta* in its ultimate state of reality permeates itself with blissfulness ⁴

The image of the deer has more philosophical than mystical significance The deer in this image stands for the *citta* or *citta-pābana*, the

¹ अद्वयत्वादस्मिन् मार्गवरे इत्याकार न विद्यते । [com 26]

² पाटत्रय कायानन्दादिक अनाहतमिति शब्दसाधनम् ।

³ स एव प्रसक्तो हि चित्तगजेन्द्रसूर्यदिवारादिविकल्प घोलयित्वा पापपुण्यौ ससारपाथौ द्वौ खण्डयित्वा अविद्यासम्भ्रमं हृत्वा निष्पापसरोवरं गतः । चित्तगजेन्द्र गगनाङ्गं महासुखचक्रसरोवरं गत्वा मिलितः । [com 16]

एकारश्चन्द्राभास एकार सूर्य उभय दिवाराविज्ञान बाणोडस्तम्भद्वयं सहृदयित्वा नलिनौवनं महासुख कमलं कृत्वा निर्विकल्पाकारं क्रीडन्तीति । [com 9]

⁴ यथा बाह्यकारी करिण्यमीर्षानन्दं वहति । तदङ्गवतीनैरात्मासङ्गतया चित्तगजेन्द्रकृष्णार्थ्यपादा तथैतानन्दं प्रवर्षन्ति । [com 9]

vital an. The vital an is ordinarily restless like the deer and as long as it remains restless it is associated with the material world and is subject to all the miseries of the world. This is why it has been said that the deer is surrounded by the hunters on all sides and is his own enemy for his flesh. This flesh, i.e., his association with the material world, stands in the way of his translation to the higher sphere.¹ At this stage the doe comes in and advises the deer to leave the forest surrounded by the hunters and to go over to another where no such troubles exist. The doe is the *Jñānamulr* or the *Nārātma*² and the other forest is the forest of the lotus—the great bliss. This last only has Yogic implications and suggests that there is the question of the march of the Śakti upwards to the topmost Cakra, the Cakra of great bliss.

In the analogies of union a Dombi plays the most important part and that serves as the key to the inner meaning of the image. She lives outside the city, dances on the lotus with 64 petals and eats up the lotus stalk. When the Yogin proceeds to marry her the *bhava*, existence and *māna* and the mind and the vital an all act in concert as musical instruments. Dombi is explained as the *Nārātma*³ or the *avadhūti*, purified. *Avadhūti* is the middle *nāḍi*, and as soon as it is purified through the removal of the influx of illusion the Śakti which is characterised as *Nārātma* in these texts ascends upwards, reaches the vacuity where the lotus with 64 petals is located. When it is said that the Dombi eats up the root of the lotus the implication seems to be that the way by which further influx of illusion upwards may be possible is destroyed.

The analogy of the fermentation of wine leads to an image of a different kind. Though this image is not quite clear in all its details the central idea is suggested by the two words—*sundinī* and *vārunī*, i.e., the female wine dealer and the wine. The *sundinī* stands for the *avadhūtikā* which we have seen is no other than the *nārātma* or the Śakti that marches upwards. The *vārunī*—the wine, stands for the *sāmṛttika bodhicitta* or the semen virile. I have already said that according to a particular belief of the Yogins when the Śakti marches upwards through

¹ स्वयं कृताविद्यामातृसत्यदीषिष चाबन्धतया पुन स एव चित्तहरिण सर्वज्ञा बद्धवैरी ।

² हरिणीति । सव्याभाषया सैव ज्ञानमुद्रा वैराग्या । भावकस्याभ्यासप्रकर्षवशात् 'आश्वास' [ददाति] भी चित्तहरिण अस्य कायवनस्य कायग्रह यन्महासुखकमलवन गत्वा [com 6]

³ डोम्बीति परिशुद्धावधूती नैरात्मा बोद्धव्या । [com 10] नगरिकेति । रूपदिविषयसमूह तस्य बाह्ये । इन्द्रियाभ्यामगोचरत्वेन तवागार महासुखचक्रम् । सद्यैक निर्माणचक्रम् चतु षष्टिदलयुक्त तत् स्थित्वा भयवत्वा नैरात्म्या सह एकरसतया महारागानन्दमुन्दरो हि कृपाचार्यो वृत्त्यति ।

the different *nādis* the *sukha* or the *ānandī*'s *bodhicitta* also proceed upwards to the head. The aim of the Yogin is to see that it proceeds quietly through the middle *nādi* and gets accumulated in the Vajramini in the head and loses its restless character.¹ The *bodhicitta* then attains the *pāramāṇthika* state and becomes conducive to the attainment of supreme bliss. This process is implied in the present image. When it is said that though the *sundarī* is alone she enters both the chambers the implication is that she brings the two, the sun and the moon together and sends them through the middle one.² The wine, i.e., the *sukha*, at this stage is made to enter it and goes upwards to produce the Sahaja bliss. The customer³ who comes of himself on seeing the signs of wine seems to be the *citta* who now enters (the vacuity) without leaving any sign behind and drinks the nectar from the lotus of great bliss.

In most of the Caiyās therefore the *bodhicitta* and its cultivation for higher purposes take the most important place. The *bodhicitta* alone is the source of compassion (*karuṇā*) which is so important in the Mahāyāna, it can render supreme bliss to the initiated and enables him to free himself from the grasp of the illusory world. The *bodhicitta* in its exoteric aspect is equally important in the earlier Mahāyāna. It has been interpreted there by the scholars as "the resolution to attain *bodhi*." In the early Mahāyāna practices also, "this resolution to attain *Bodhi*" enables the initiated to proceed in his spiritual exercises and to be the master of compassion and save every being of the world from misery by leading him to *bodhi* (cf. Dutt, *Aspects of Mahayana Buddhism*, p. 302).

But in early Mahāyāna the esoteric aspect of the *bodhicitta* (i.e., the *bodhicitta* in the sense of *sukra*) seems to have already developed. In my note on the word *Parāvṛtti* (see *infra*) I have emphasised on the

१२ वज्रमणिशिखरशुसिरे वारुणीति । सुखप्रमोदलात बोधिचित्तं वक्ष्यति । सैव पूर्वोक्ता वधूतिका स वृत्तिपरमाद्यसंयद्वय घटतीति कृत्वा तथा शुक्रनाडिकया गुरोरुपदेशात् तमपतितं बोधिचित्तं स्थेय्यं कृत्वा निस्सरङ्गरूपेण चालय—

परमाद्यबोधिचित्तं दृढीकुर्वन्नाह—सहजिति । वज्रप्रसादात् विरमानन्देन सहजानन्दं स्थिरौक्यं वारुणीति सन्धावचनेन तदेव स वृत्तिबोधिचित्तं बोद्धव्यम् । तस्य बोधिचित्तस्य स्वाधिष्ठानगतस्याक्षरसुखपात्रेन वक्ष्यन् कृत्वा

३ एकदा षट्पथयोगात् सा अवधूतिका शुद्धिनी ऊर्ध्वनासा घण्टिकारम्भे चन्द्रस्थौ वामदक्षिणौ द्वौ सन्वयति मध्यमाया प्रवेशयति ।

४ गन्धःस्वरो हि स्वयमेवागम्य तेन हारेण प्रविश्य महासुखकमखरसपानेन सुचितं प्रीचनं करोति ।

implications of the word in its connection with *marthvna*—sexual act. If my interpretation of the word is accepted then we should admit that already when the *Sūtrālamkāra* was composed by Asanga the Buddhists believed in a Yogic practice by which it was possible to turn the flow of the semen viñle inwards and to produce a state of supreme blissfulness caused by this inflow. In a passage of the *Śikṣāsamuccaya* of *Sāntideva*, *Bodhicitta* is exactly used in a similar sense

bodhicittaḥ alalāḥ krpāṇvada marīapesu acaḥsaye ghanah |

bodhi angamanuprāṇasambhavo Buddhagaṇbha ayam sampararidhate ||

(*Śikṣā*, V, p 103),

“The *bodhicitta* is the germ, the second stage of growth is compassion the third is *marī* or brotherly love which is firm and solid, and then the elements of the *bodhi* grow stage by stage till the Buddha-embryo is fully developed”

A NOTE ON THE WORD PARĀVRTTI

The word *parāvṛtti* occurs in several verses of the *Sūtrālamkāra* of Asaṅga in connection with acts which constitute the supreme greatness of Buddha (*vibhūtvam bauddham*). These acts are *pañcendriyaparāvṛtti*, i.e., *parāvṛtti* of the five senses, *manaso'pi*—i.e., *parāvṛtti* of the mind, *sāṛthodgrāha*—i.e., *parāvṛtti* of receiving the objects of senses, *vikalpa*—i.e., *parāvṛtti* of the act of differentiation, *pratisṭhāyāh*—i.e., *parāvṛtti* of the place of existence (?) and lastly *maithūnasya*—i.e., *parāvṛtti* of sexual act. The verses are—

मनोवृत्तिमिदं विमुक्तमेदं दर्शयति—

पञ्चेन्द्रियपरावृत्तौ विमुक्तं लभ्यते परम ।
 सर्वार्थवृत्तौ सर्वेषां गुणद्वादशतोदरे ॥४१॥
 मनसोऽपि परावृत्तौ विमुक्तं लभ्यते परम ।
 विभुत्वानुचरे ज्ञाने निर्विकल्पे सुनिर्मले ॥४२॥
 सार्थोद्ग्रहपरावृत्तौ विमुक्तं लभ्यते परम ।
 क्षेयशुद्धौ यथाकाम भोगमदर्शनाय हि ॥४३॥
 विकल्पस्य परावृत्तौ विमुक्तं लभ्यते परम ।
 अव्याघाते सदाकाल सर्वेषां ज्ञानकर्षणाम् ॥४४॥
 प्रतिष्ठाया परावृत्तौ विमुक्तं लभ्यते परम ।
 अप्रतिष्ठितनिर्वाण बुद्धानामचले पदे ॥४५॥
 नैयनस्य परावृत्तौ विमुक्तं लभ्यते परम ।
 बुद्धसौख्यविहारेऽयं दाराऽसक्तैश्च दर्शने ॥४६॥

Prof S Lévi while translating the word as “révolution” suggested that “*parāvṛtti* of sexual act” alludes without doubt to “the mystic couples of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas which have so much importance in ‘Tantrism’

(Translation of the *Sūtrālamkāra*, p. 81, note). If this interpretation is accepted then we have to admit that Tantrik ideas were already prevalent in Mahāyāna Buddhism in the time of Asaṅga (4th-5th centuries A D)

Dr Winternitz in his *Notes on the Guhya-Samāja Tantra and the Age of Tantras* (I H Q IX 1) has recently questioned the interpretation of Prof Lévi and translated the word *parāvṛtti* as “turning aside, discard”. The last two verses of the series (Nos 45 and 46) have been rendered by him as follows.

"In the turning-aside of the basis of Reality supreme greatness is obtained, (namely) the 'Nirvāṇa without basis' in the immovable seat of the Buddhas

"In the turning-aside of sexual union supreme greatness is obtained, (namely) in the enjoyment (or pleasure ground) of Buddha happiness and in looking without impure thoughts at a wife"

The meaning of the term *parāvṛtti* however does not appear to be so plain. The verses of the *Sūtrālamkāra*, already quoted, are introduced by Asaṅga with the note *manovṛtti bhedena vibhūta-bhēdam darsayati*—

different kinds of supreme greatness are being explained with reference to the various functions (*vṛtti*) of the mind" The word *vṛtti* has the implication of a for-ward circular motion whereas *āvṛtti* means a complete revolution (like the revolution of a wheel), the prefix *parā* means "back, in an inverted order" The word *parāvṛtti* therefore literally means—"turning (the functions of the mind) round to an opposite point" So it does not mean even literally, as Dr. Winternitz thinks, 'turning aside' those functions but their transformation for a higher purpose. This really amounts to a mental revolution. A large number of passages from different texts confirms this interpretation.

The word, first of all, occurs several times in the *Viṣṇupāramitāśāstra* (*Trimsikā*) of Vasubandhu and also in its commentary by Sthiramati

यदा त्वालम्बनं ज्ञानं नैवोपलभते तदा ।

स्थितं विज्ञानमाश्रित्य याच्ञाभावो तदयद्वात् ॥

अविशोऽनुपलब्धोऽसौ ज्ञानं लोकोत्तरं च ततः ।

आश्रयस्य परावर्त्तिर्हि धा दौष्टुल्यद्वानितः ॥

[*Trimsikā*, *kār*, 28-29]

When the knowledge does no more perceive the object it makes its stay in *viṣṇūāna* only (*viṣṇūāna-mūtra*). There is [then] no more receiving for the absence of objects to be received (28)

This knowledge is mindless, perception-less and supra-mundane. There is then the *parāvṛtti* of the recipient—*āśrayasya parāvṛtti* through elimination of two kinds of troubles (29)

Sthiramati while commenting on the verse says

What is *āśrayaparāvṛtti*? *Āśraya* or the recipient is the *ālaya-viṣṇūāna* which contains all the germs. That which is its *parāvṛtti* is produced when there is no more impregnation either of troubles or of duality and on account of their stoppage there is pliability. This *parāvṛtti* is attained

through the elimination of two kinds of troubles—*kleśāvaraṇa* and *jñeyāvaraṇa*

आश्रयस्य परावृत्तिरिति । आश्रयोऽत्र सर्व्वबीजकमालयविज्ञानम् । तस्य परावृत्तिर् या दीष्टुल्य-
विपाकद्वयवासनाभावेन निवृत्तौ सत्या कर्मव्यवसाय धर्मकायादयश्चानभावेन परावृत्तिः । सा पुनराश्रय-
परावृत्तिः कस्य प्रहाणात् प्राप्यते । अत आह । द्विधा दीष्टुल्यद्वयानि द्वित्रेति क्लेशावरणदीष्टुल्य ज्ञेयावरण-
दीष्टुल्यम् ॥

Parāvr̥tti in this case, implies *prasrabdhī*, i e , relaxation or lightness of the mind It is one of the *bodhyangas* or an integral condition of the *bodhi* *Sthiramati* explains this word thus “*prasrabdhī* is the opposite of *dausthulya* It is the pliability of the body and mind while *dausthulya* is the want of this pliability and is hence the germ of all passion The pliability of the body is that which enables the body to do its proper functions with ease The pliability of the mind is that which enables the mind to act on its object with freshness and lightness As to the body its *prasrabdhī* is attained when a particular tangible is brought to it through satisfaction So says the *Sūtra* “when the mind is pleased the body relaxes (प्रस्रस्यते) Its proper function is to extirpate radically the obstruction of passion (*kleśāvaraṇa*) so that through it the *parāvr̥tti* of the recipient (*āśraya*) takes place ”

The word *parāvr̥tti* occurs in many places of the *Lankāvatāra sūtra* but the most important references to it occur in the last (समापकम्) of the text The Bodhisattvas are first of all described as experts in *parāvr̥tti* or परावृत्तिकुशला (p 10), and it is further said that they attain the body of *Tathāgata* (*Tathāgata-kāya*) through *parāvr̥tti* (p 43) *Tathatā* or the state of ultimate reality is defined as that which is attained through *parāvr̥tti* of the nature of desires, mental disturbances (*dausthulya*), mind and mental and non-mental knowledge (p 108)—आद्याणा चित्तमनोविज्ञान-दीष्टुल्यवासनास्वभावधर्मपरावृत्ति (sic इति) भावात् चान्ति (?) रायाणां तथेत्युच्यते *Tathatā* is once equated with *parāvr̥tti* (परावृत्तस्तु तथता, p 274, verse 77 and also p 151, परावृत्ता हि तथता—) *Parāvr̥tti* of the *vyñāṇa*, the seat of all desires and knowledge, is called *nirvāṇa* (p 93)—तद्विज्ञानस्य भाववासनास्वयमनोमनोविज्ञान-दृष्टिवासनापरावृत्तिर्निर्वाणमित्युच्यते When the mind is *parāvr̥tti* no function of the senses remains to the *Yogin* (p 131) and when the *parāvr̥tti* of the recipient¹ (*āśraya*) takes place there is no origination (p 338) *Parāvr̥tti* is the state of detachment in which there is no knowledge of contradiction (p 345—अप्रवृत्तिविकल्पस्य परावृत्तिनिराश्रयः)

¹ *Āśraya*, we have seen, is explained by *Sthiramati* as सर्व्वबीजकमालयविज्ञानम् ।

There are several other passages in the *Lankāvatāra* which help us in determining the sense of the word with great precision ¹ It is said that when the Bodhisattvas arrive at the 8th *bhūmi* they attain the *manomaya-kāya* through the *parāvṛtti* of the two ways, on page 266 (verses 17-20) it is further said that when the mind is *parāvṛtti* it always stays in the space which has the colour of a lotus, and which is beyond the reach of the illusory world When the mind is established there, the thoughts attain the state of *anābhogacari* The mind then performs the acts of the common beings like the diamond in which the whole world is reflected (i.e., the mind remains unstained like the diamond inspite of the reflections) In that state there is no phenomenon either *samskrta* or *asamskrta*, and there is no knowledge of duality The individuality loses its nature (*naishvābhāvya*)

From this it is evident that *parāvṛtti* is an affair of the 8th of the ten *bhūmis* It is a state in which the mind stays permanently (तिष्ठति शश्वतम्) and attains *anābhogacari* condition (अनाभोगचरि गत) In fact the 8th *bhūmi* is called *Anābhoga* or *Acatā* The relative position of the ten *bhūmis* is indicated in the following verses of the *Lankāvatāra* (pp 278, 106, cf also p 215)

चित्तं हि भूमय सप्त निराभासा च अष्टमी ।

द्वौ भूमयौ विद्वाराश्च शेषभूमिर्मैनात्मिका ॥

“The *citta* consists of the first 7 *bhūmis*, the 8th is devoid of illusion, and the two *bhūmis* (9th and 10th) are places of enjoyment (—*vihāra*) The last is a positive state ”

1 Cf also *vyāvṛtti* In the *Lankāvatāra*, p 315, verses 392ff, also p 325, verse 483ff — *Vyāvṛttih sarvadrstinām* *Vyāvṛtti* is used in the *Sutrālamkāra* as a synonym of *Parāvṛtti* in verse 47 (15)—*ākāśasamāṇavyāvṛttan* In the Chinese translation of the *Sūtrā* *parāvṛtti* is rendered by *chuan* which means ‘revolution or turning round’, *chuan* is particularly used to mean the revolution or turning of the wheel *Nivṛtti* means suppression or destruction and hence has only a negative character whereas *parāvṛtti* or *vyāvṛtti* has a positive character, *parāvṛtti* implies exteriorisation and *parāvṛtti* seems to imply the opposite process Compare with this the significance of *param* in *param vairāgyam* (*Yogasūtra* I, 16) and *parārtham* (*ibid*, IV 23) In both the cases *param* appertains to *Purusa* The *Prakṛti* has two movements, outward and inward, and when its inward movement reaches completion *moksa* is attained Bho sveda in his comment on *Yogasūtra* IV 22 says —

अनुलोमप्रतिलोमश्च परित्यागद्वये सहजं शक्तिद्वयसक्तं बहिर्मुखतयाऽनुलोमं परित्यागम् ।

पुनस्तत्कारणानुप्रवेशद्वारेणाभितान्तं परित्यागम्, प्रतिलोमम् ॥

This, I think, throws a flood of light on the meaning of the verses 45, 46, 47 and 48 of the *Sūtrālamkāra* already referred to. *Buddhānām acale pade* of verse 45, *Buddhasaṅkhyā-vihāra* of verse 46 and *ākāśasamyñhāvṛtti* (which makes one *gagana garbha* according to Asanga) of the verse 47 refer to the last three stages in the march towards final beatitude. *Acale pade* seems to refer to the 8th *bhūmi* called *Acalā* or *Nirābhogā* whereas the 9th and the 10th which are generally called *vihāra* in the *Lankāvatāra* are implied in the other two expressions. The 9th *bhūmi* called *Sādhumatī* is the place from which the Bodhisattva exercises *mahākaruṇā* for all beings and this is probably the reason why it has been called a stage from which the friendship or love of Buddha is exercised (—*Buddha saṅkhyāvihāra*). The 10th *bhūmi* called *dharma-megha* in which the Bodhisattva attains *acintyaṃ ca nāma moksam* being seated in the pure *dharma-megha* appear to be implied in *ākāśasamyñhāvṛtti* and *acintyakṛtyānusthānād buddhārāma-malāsraya*.

I do not mean that such well defined stages of spiritual progress as are found in the *Dasabhūmika Sūtra* are implied in the above three verses of the *Sūtrālamkāra*. But the three stages in some form or other were known to Asanga (cf *Sūtrālamkāra*, XX-XXI, 37-38) and called by him *Acalā*, *Sādhumatī* and *Dharma-meghā*, although the characteristics of these three are there mixed up together. This seems to be due to the fact that the last three *bhūmis* by their peculiar elevation form a category different from the first seven *bhūmis* as it is distinctly said that from the 8th *bhūmi* one becomes a member of the Buddha family, possesses the Buddha *gotra* and is constantly attended by all gods and Vajrapāṇi. It seems that there was no fall from any of the last three *bhūmis* where as that was possible from any of the first seven *bhūmis*.

Now *parāvṛtti* is spoken of in connection with the last three *bhūmis*—stages in which Buddhahood has been already attained. In these stages no question of *discarding* different functions of the senses, mind, *vikalpa* and sexual act (*maithuna*), etc., arises because that is the affair of earlier stages in the spiritual march. In the last the stages the Bodhisattva is far above the world and its turmoils. Therefore *parāvṛtti* must have a different significance.

In the previous discussions we have seen that *parāvṛtti* involves *praśrabdhi* or elimination of the two categories of obstruction both of the passions and objects of senses, and is equated with *nirvāṇa* and *tathatā*. It is *nirvabhāvatā*, *nirābhāsatvam*, *anupāda*, etc. It is therefore complete negation as *nirvāṇa* and *tathatā* do not consist in

annihilation, it has neither any positive nor negative aspect—it is above that (*Lankā.*, p 98, शब्दतोच्छेदविकल्पभावविवर्जितम्)

So it has been defined as a state of blissfulness. Therefore I think *parāvṛtti* of *maṭhuna* (verse 46) does not mean 'turning aside' or 'abnegation of the sexual act' but enjoyment of bliss similar to that arising from that act. This analogy has been used in Indian philosophical texts beginning with the Upanisads.

The significance of this mystic union and the consequent enjoyment of a blissful union is given in the *Sūtrālamkāra* itself (XX-XXI, verses, 37 and 38) in connection with the two *bhūmis*, *Acalā* (the 8th) and the *Dharmameghā* (the 10th). The 8th *bhūmi* is called *Acalā*, "unmoved" because it is "unmoved by the connotation of the two" (द्वयसंज्ञाविचलनात्). The last *bhūmi* is called *Dharmameghā* because it is "filled up by the two as the space is filled up by the clouds" (द्वयव्याप्तैर्धर्माकाशस्य सेवत्). The connotation of the two are explained by Asanga as *nimittasamyñā* and *animittasamyñā* and "the filling up by the two" as the filling up by the *samādhimukha* and the *dhāranāmukha*. In these stages therefore "the coming together" or "unity of two categories" is implied and this union might have been described as *maṭhunasya parāvṛtti*. Such union is implied in the terms *Yoga*, and *Samādhi*. The *nimitta-samyñā* and *animitta-samyñā* of Asanga may be compared with the *kāryacitta* and *kāranacitta* of the Yoga philosophy. The *kāranacitta* is *roḥu* and the most important aim of the Yogin is to turn back the *citta* to its original state of all-pervading *kāranacitta*.

Additional Note—My note was published in October, 1933. Mr A. K. Coomaraswamy discussed the word independently at about the same time. Cf his "*A New Approach to the Vedas*," p 93, note 73, where he explains *parāvṛtti* as transformation, regeneration, analogy, reversal, etc. Cf also his article in *Festschrift Ernst Winternitz*.

Appendix

DETAILED NOTICES ON MANUSCRIPTS

I *Nisvāsa tattva-Samhitā*

I have drawn attention to the importance of this MS previously (*supra*, pp 3ff) It is a palm leaf MS preserved in the Darbar Library and was first briefly noticed by H P Shastri (*Darbar Library Catalogue*, p 137) The MS consists of 114 leaves and its writing is late Gupta of the 8th century The importance of the text lies in the fact that it mentions a large number of Tāntik texts which existed at the time of its compilation

The text consists of five *sūtras* and though they form a complete whole, each of them may be taken independently of others The five *sūtras* are—(i) *Laukika-dharma*, (ii) *Mūla-sūtra*, (iii) *Uttara sūtra*, (iv) *Naya sūtra*, (v) *Guhya sūtra* The last is more extensive than the four others taken together According to a verse occurring on fol 23b the section of *Laukika dharma* is left out and the next four sections are said to form the main body of the text (cf *supra*, p 4)

On fol 41b there is a definition of *sūtra*—

सूचना सूत्रमित्याह सूत्र नाम पद पर ।

तेन सर्वं इदं व्याप्तं सूत्रे मणिरग्रा इव ॥

On fol 41b it is said that the text is called a *samhitā* because five texts have been put together They represent five currents of literary traditions communicated by the mouth and hence they are called *Nisvāsa* (probably because vital wind passes through the mouth)—

मूलस्रोतरसूत्रं नवसूत्रमेव च ।

मुक्तसूत्रचतुर्विधं प्रोचमानं निबोध मे ॥

तेनैव सङ्गसमुक्ता सङ्घितैका प्रपद्यते ।

निश्चासति नामेन सम्पूर्णान् ततो भवेत् ॥

निश्चाससङ्घिता शेषा मुखेन सङ्गसमुक्ता ।

पञ्चस्रोतास्तु ये प्रोक्ता मुखेन परिकीर्तिताः ॥

In the first section (*mūlasūtra*)—the Devī says that she has learnt the doctrines of the Vedānta and the 25 Sāmkhyas (वेदान्त विदितन्वीर्यं सार्धं मे

पञ्चविंशक) and now desires to learn the *Śivatatva*. The first chapter deals with the initiation and the initiated (दीक्षा and दीक्षित), the second chapter with sacrifice (अग्निकार्यम्) and the mode of worshipping Śiva (शिवार्चनविधि), the third chapter with मुक्तिमण्डलम्, the fourth with मुक्तिदीक्षा and the fifth with the nature of the *mantras*. The subject-matter of the last three chapters is not well arranged.

In the second section (*uttara-sūtra*) there are five chapters, the first two dealing with शिवालयेष्टापन, साहका and होम, the third and the fourth with अभिवेक and दीक्षा and the fifth with ज्ञानयोग.

A number of holy places and rivers is mentioned on fol 9b and 42

[96a] दानधर्मस्त्वया ख्यातस्तीर्थधर्मश्च मे वद ।

ज्ञाने पुण्यफल यच्चात् भविष्यति ॥

ईश्वर उवाच—गङ्गा सरस्वती पुण्या यमुना गोमती तथा ।

चर्मि चन्द्रभागा च सरयूर्गङ्गको तथा ॥

जा का च शतद्रु च कालिका सुप्रभा तथा ।

विह्वसी च विपाशा च नर्मदा चन्द्र पु ॥

गोदावरी महावर्ता सङ्करावर्त मञ्जारी ।

कावेरी कौशिकी चैव तृतीया च मङ्गलदी ॥

विटङ्ग प्रतिकूला च सोमामन्दा च विश्रुता ।

करतोया वेववती रेणुका वेणुका च या ॥

आत्रेयगङ्गा वैतरणी कर्मारी ह्लादनी तथा ।

श्रवणी च सवर्णा सा कल्याणस्य सिनी ॥

वसिष्ठा च पारा च सिन्धु वेलारुणी तथा ।

ताप्ता चैव त्रिसन्ध्या च मन्दाकिन्य परास्तुता ॥

तैलकोशी च पारा च दुन्दुभि नलिनी तथा ।

नीलगङ्गा च गोधा च पूर्णाचन्द्रा शशिप्रभा ॥

उपवासरतता मुखसाया ।

The names of sacred rivers are —Gangā, Sarasvatī, Yamunā, Gomatī, Carmī, Candrabhāgā, Sarayū, Gandakī, ?, Śatadru, Kālikā, Suprabhā, Vitastī, Vipāsā, Narmadā, ?, Godāvarī, Śarkarāvarta, Majvārī (?), Kāverī, Kauśikī, Vitanka, Somānandā, Karatoyā, Vetravatī, Renukā, Venukā, Ātreya-Gangā, Vaitarani, Karmārī, Hlādani, Plāvanī, Savarnā, Kalmāsā ?, Vasisthā, Sindhu, Ārunī, Tāmra, Tisandhyā, Mandakini, Tailakosī, Pārā, Dundubhī, Nalinī, Nilagangā, Godhā, Purpācandrā

In the same chapter five kinds of *lingas* are spoken of—लोहं मणिमयं वाऽपि मृन्मयं शैलजा [रौप्यं ?]

[42a] सिद्धिचिन्ताणि वक्ष्यामि यत्र सिद्धिं प्रतिष्ठिता ।

श्रीशैलश्च महेन्द्रश्च पारियात्र ॥

मलयः सद्यः गोमती ।

नर्मदा चन्द्रभागा च विपासा चर्म्मिला गया ॥

गङ्गाद्वारं प्रयागश्च गङ्गासागरसङ्गमम् ।

पुष्करं करवीरश्च अट्टहासाविमुक्तकम् ॥

सीमेश्वर महाकाल नैमिषानरकाष्टक ।

कालञ्जरन्तयेकास गुह्याद्याय नि च ॥

पुण्या नद्यानि सर्वानि ।

सिद्धिचिन्ताणि पुण्याणि यत्र देवः स्वयं स्थितः ॥

The holy places are—Śrīśaila, Mahendra, Pāṇyātra, Malaya, Sahya, Gomati, Narmadā, Candrabhāgā, Vipāsā, Carmmīlā, Gayā, Gangādvāra, Prayāga, Gangāsāgara, Puskara, Karavira, Attahāsa, Avimuktaka, Someśvara, Mahākāla, Namisā, Amarakantaka, Kālāñjara and Ekāmra

On fol 24a-24b there is a description of the Śivatantras, which we have partly utilised (*ante*, pp 4-5) —

शिवतन्त्रस्य चोत्पत्तिं कीर्त्तयामास निवीच मे ।

अष्टष्टविंशतिं शान्ते शिवे परमकारणे ॥

नामरूपं विनिष्क्रान्तं शास्त्रं परमदुर्लभम् ।

सदाशिवस्तु वेत्ता वै स च साम्प्रतिवेधकः ॥

नादरूपस्य शास्त्रस्य अहं [तन्त्र]निबन्धकः ।

अनुष्टुप्छन्दोवन्धेन देवेभ्यः प्रतिपादितम् ॥

ऋषिभिश्च पुनश्चाहं तेभ्यो मन्त्रेषु सन्ततिः ।

कामिकं योगदं दिव्यं कारणमलितं यथा ॥

दौप्तं सूत्रं च साहस्रं अक्षरमाश्रमेदि च ।

अनन्तं शिवशास्त्रं तु दशधा परिकीर्त्तितम् ॥

पुनश्चाष्टादशैभ्यः रुद्रेण परिकीर्त्तितम् ।

विजयं प्रथमं ह्येषा का निश्चास तदनन्तरम् ॥

स्वायम्भूवमतश्चैव बाहुल्यं तदनन्तरम् ।

वीरभद्रमिति ख्यातं रौरवं साकुटस्थथा ॥

विरसं चन्द्रहासश्च ज्ञानं सुखविम्बकम् ।

प्रीङ्गीतं खलितश्चैव सिद्धसन्तानमेव च ॥

सव्योक्तीत च विज्ञेय किरण पारमेस्वरम् ।
 पारमेस्वरतन्त्रोऽय ऋषिदेवेषु कौर्त्तितम् ॥
 अष्टाविंशति तन्त्राणि प्रसिद्धानि सङ्गच्छन् ।
 यो परतरो भेदो शिवतन्त्रेषु पठ्यते ॥
 सगङ्ग स तु विज्ञेयो ऋषिदेवगणा गिरा ।
 येन येन श्रुत तन्त्र येन येनावधारितम् ॥
 तस्य तस्य द्वि नामेन तत् तन्त्र परिगीयते ।
 शिव सदाशिवश्चैव विदेशाश्च उभा [पति] ? ॥
 गणमुख्यो विजयो कालिरेव च ।
 ब्रह्मा विष्णुसाथा वज्रिर्वायु सूर्यचन्द्रमा ॥
 धर्मोद्भूतौ वरुणश्चैव यक्षरक्षमहोरगा ।
 मातृभिर्गुह्यकैश्चैव गरुडिन च धीमता ॥
 कोटिशस्याप्यधीतानि लक्षाद्युतशतानि च ।
 शुक्राश्चैव दधीचिश्च दर्व्या ॥
 स्वसनन्दन ।
 वैज्ररातुश्च श्वेतोरामश्च वाह्निक ।
 मरीचिरोपमन्युश्च मार्कण्डेयस्तिकाश्वप ।
 तन्त्रस्य पारगा ह्येते शतशोऽय सङ्गच्छन् ॥

II *Sammoha Tantra*

It is preserved in a late Newari MS preserved in the Darbar Library, it consists of 67 pages, divided into 10 *patalas* Cf Shastri, *Darbar Library Catalogue* II, p 183, the compiler of the catalogue has mentioned the name of the work as *Sammohana Tantra*, both *Sammoha* and *Sammohana* occur as the title of the text. The text is interesting particularly because it enumerates various traditions of Tantrik culture. Besides in the 5th chapter, called *Aksobhya-tārā-samvāda*, there is a curious story about the origin of Nīlasarasvatī.

In the first chapter (*patala* I) it is said that there are nine traditions of *mantras* according to the *Kalikāmata*,—these are Samkarsanī, Siddhakālī, Kubjikā, Sundarī, Mahākhila-deveśī, Śrīmat-siddhakarālīkā, Pratyangirā, Śesikā and Śesamantra. Hence Guhyakālī has nine faces. The Śāmbhavas (*i.e.*, those who practise the *śāmbhavi-vidyā*) are of twenty kinds according to the division of holy places, literary traditions, and script and language used.

[5b] सङ्घर्षणी सिद्धकाला कुन्तिका सुन्दर तथा
 श्रीमन्नाखिलदेवेशो श्रीमत्सङ्घकर्तृनिका ।
 प्रत्यङ्गिरा शेषिका च शेषमन्त्रेऽपि पाठान् ॥
 नवःकायादिमन्त्राश्च त्रिभिर्वा कान्तिकामतो ।
 नववक्त्रा मङ्गेशानि गुह्यकान्या महेश्वरि ॥
 अष्टैतभावसम्पन्ना आसन् । गुह्यकालिका ।
 पीठवाणोप्रभेदेन शास्त्रवाना च विंशति ।
 लिपिभाषाभेदेन गान्धवाना च विंशति ॥

In the third chapter various kinds of *pīthas* are enumerated, viz, Vidyāpītha, Śakti-pītha, Śaiva-pītha, Ganesa pītha, Āndra, Svāyambhura, Īna°, Bauddha° and Vaidika. The word *pītha* in this case as well as in the following cases is used to mean "ways of Tantrik practice". Other kinds of *pīthas* are —

[6b] जगत्त्रये जयापीठ ताराविद्याविधौ च तम ।
 काल्या पीठत्रय देवि गुह्यकान्या निशाकर ॥
 सुन्दर्या हे विधा पीठ ताराया द्विविध भवेत् ।
 छिन्नायामेकरूपं तु भुवनायामपि त्रिभिः ॥
 धूमायामपि तथा मातङ्गा द्विविध भवेत् ।
 सिद्धविद्याविधौ देवि द्विविध भैरवीमतौ ॥
 सुन्दरो पीठमाख्यात धूमायामेकमेव च ।
 कमलाया ह्ययं पीठं द्वैवि विविधमेव च ॥
 चतुर्विधं वैष्णवे स्यात् सौरे द्विविधम ईरितम् ।
 गणपे पञ्चधा पीठमन्येऽपि पीठविस्तरम् ॥
 शैवपीठं च षट्को स्तुतेश्चै भैरवे ।
 वज्रवानले वीरभक्त्यानामादि [१] कौर्त्तितम् ॥
 स्वायम्भुवे छिगुलाजि पीठं शक्तिमयं मतम् ।

[7a] कादा षट्पञ्चाशद् देशाश्च ह्यदावपि तथा त्रिभिः
 तद्देशशक्तिभ्योगस्तद्रान्यमिति कौर्त्तितम् ॥
 ततःसगमजपेनैव तद्देशराज्यमाकृष्यात् ।
 तत्रादौ कादिदेशश्च कथ्यते परमेश्वर ॥
 अङ्गवङ्गी कलिङ्गश्च कालिङ्गकैरलक्षणा ।
 काश्मीरकामरूपश्च महाराष्ट्रोऽथ एव च ॥
 सौराष्ट्रो द्राविडश्चैव तैलिङ्गमन्याद्रक्षौ ।
 कर्णाटावन्त्यवैदर्भं सर्पाभीर समाख्यात् ॥

चीलया चालकावोज देगद्राभ्या (?) विदेहभू ।
 बाह्लीकश्च किरातश्च कैकटावन्यकौ तथा ॥
 ऐराकभोटान्तचीनमहाचीनस्तथैव च ।
 नेपाल शोलङ्गश्च गौडकोशलमागधा ॥
 श्रोतकाला कुन्तना हुणा कोङ्कण केकयस्तथा ।
 शूरसेन कौरवाश्च मिहलाश्च पुलिन्दका ॥
 कच्छसेवनमद्राश्च सौवीरलाटवर्चरा ॥
 मतस्या सैन्धव इत्येत षट्पञ्चाश प्रकीर्तिता ॥
 कादिदेशा समाख्याता ह्यदिदेशा षष्ठ्यु प्रिये ।
 अङ्ग वङ्ग कलिङ्गश्च कालिङ्ग स्यात् सुवीरक ॥
 काश्मीरश्चैव काम्बोजा सौराष्ट्रो मगधस्तथा ।
 महाराष्ट्रो माजवस्तु नेपाल केरलस्तथा ॥
 चीलया चालगौडाश्च मलयाडश्च सिङ्गल ।
 व्योङ्कविडो व्योन्तश्चैव कार्णाटो लाट एव च ॥
 मलाटश्चैव पानाटा पावाद्यान्वक्त पुलिन्दका ।
 हुणकौरवगान्धारविटर्भा सविदेहका ॥
 बाह्लीक वच्चरो देवि केकय कोशलोऽपि च ।
 कुन्तलश्च किलातश्च शूरसेनश्च सेवर ॥
 वनाट टङ्गणश्चैव कोङ्कण मतस्यमद्रकौ ।
 नैड सैन्धव सन्ध्या पार्श्वकौकौ तत स्मृतौ ॥
 खोजाल यवनी देवि जलजालम्बसाखला ।
 सिन्धुश्च वद्यदेशाश्च ह्यदि पर्यायवाचका ॥

The countries in which the *Kāḍi* mode of practice was prevalent are therefore—Anga, Vanga, Kalinga, Kālinga (probably meaning 'outer Kalinga'), Kerala, Kāsmīra, Kāmarūpa, Mahārāstra, Saurāstra, Drāvīda, Talinga, Malayādri, Karnāta, Avanti, Vaidarbha, Sarpa (?), Ābhīra, Mālava, Caula (?), Cāla (? Cola), Kāmboja, Vairādra (? Vairāt), ? , Videha (?), Bāhika, Kīrāta, Kaikata, Āvantaka, Airāka, Bhota, Cīna, Mahācīna, Nepāla, Śīlabhatta, Gauda, Kosala, Māgadhā, Snotkola (? Utkala), Kuntala, Huna, Konkana, Kekaya, Śūrasena, Kaurava, Simhala, Pulinda, Kaccha, Sevana (?), Madra, Lāta, Varvara, Matsya and Saindhava. There are however 53 names in this list (of which one could not be read) instead of 56 as spoken of

The countries in which the *Hādī* mode of practice was prevalent are the following—Anga, Vanga, Kalinga, Kālinga, Suvīraka, Kāsmīra,

Kāmbōja, Sauvāstīa, Magadha Mahānāstā, Mālāva, Nerāla Kerala, Cola, Cāla (?), Gauda, Mālāva, Audā (?), Simhala, Vāṇka, Vija, Vvonda, Kārṇāta, Lāta, Malāta, Pānāta, Pārā (?), Ardha(ī)ala, Pūṇḍī, Huna, Kauṇava, Gāndhāra, Vīdāmbha, Vīdeha, Bālīka, Vairava, Kekaiva, Kosala, Kuntala, Kīlata, Śūlasena, Seveia (? Sauvīa), Vanāta, Tankan, Konhāna, Matsya, Madra, Māda, Saṁdhava, Pāṣṭakika, Divijāla, Yavana, Jala (?), Jālandhāra, Sālva and Sindhu. There are 56 names in this list but some of them cannot be identified. Besides many of the names are common to both the lists.

In the 5th chapter (patala) there is an enumeration of various Tantrik sects, their distribution and the account of Tantrik literature prevalent in various countries (fols. 27a-28b). The Tantrik traditions, generally speaking are twofold—*Kīḍī* and *Hāḍī*, each of which has again nine divisions —

कादिद्वादिप्रभेदेन विधा चाख्यमहति ।

द्वादौ नव-विधत्वं च कादौ नवविधत्वं ॥

These nine divisions of each of the *āṁṇīya*s are now however mentioned. The Tantrik tradition is again said to be fourfold according to the geographical order—East, West, South and North. The four principal sects according to this division are—*Kerala*, *Kāsmīra*, *Gauda* and *Vilāsa*. The *Kerala* sect is prevalent in all countries from Anga to Mālāva, the *Kāsmīra* in countries from Madra to Nepāla, the *Gauda* in countries from Śīlahatta to Saṁdhava and the *Vilāsa* sect is prevalent in all countries.

Another general classification into three is also mentioned—*Divya*, *Kaula* and *Vāma*. Each of these sects is again divided into two—*hārda* (inner) and *bāhya* (outer)—

केरलश्चैव काश्मीरो गौडश्चैव तृतीयक ।

विलासाख्यश्चतुर्थः स्यात् ततश्चक्रम षष्ठ्यु पार्वति ॥

अङ्गादि मालवान् च केरल परिकीर्तित ।

मद्रदेश समारभ्य नेपालान्त महेश्वरि ॥

काश्मीराख्य सम्प्रदाय कश्चित परमेश्वरि ।

शिलहट्ट समारभ्य सैन्धवान्त महेश्वरि ॥

गौडमार्गे महेशानि कीर्तितस्ते मया तव ।

विलासाख्य सम्प्रदाय सर्व्वग परिकीर्तित ॥

The number of Tantras current in various countries is enumerated as follows—In *Cīna*—100 principal *tantras* and 7 subsidiary ones, in *Dīāvīda*—20 principal ones and 25 subsidiary ones, amongst the *Jainas*—18 principal ones and 20 subsidiary ones, in *Kerala*—60 principal works and 500 subsidiary ones, in *Kāśmīra*—100 principal works and 10 subsidiary ones and in *Gauḍa*—27 principal works and 16 (? *kalā*) subsidiary ones

The *āmnāyas* are also said to be sixfold—Eastern, Southern, Western, Northern, upper and lower (*pātāla*) in the *Western class*—Aghora, Śākini, Vaisnava philosophy, the Bhairavas following Rudra, the Bhairavi called Caitanya and the Saṃyojāta (?), in the *Northern class*—Gāṇapa philosophy, Kuvera Bhairava, Vāmadeva mahesvara, Mahogrā-vidyā, in the *Southern class*—Tripurā, Saura, Gāṇapa, Vaisnava

In the 5th chapter the story of the origin of Nīlasarasvatī is narrated, we have already referred to it in course of a previous study (*ante*, p. 43)

In the sixth chapter there is a detailed enumeration of the literature of various sects (fol. 316) The *Sarva-Tantras* are—32 Tantra, 325 Upatantra, 10 Samhitā, 1+1 (=5?) Ānava, 2 Yāmala, 3 Dāmara, 1 Uddāla, 2 Uddisa, 8 Kalpa, 8 Upasamkhvā (?), 2 Cūdāmani, 2 Vīmānsinī, 5 Avatāranaka (belonging to the Buddhists), 5 Sūkta, 2 Cintāmani, 9 Purāna, 3 Upasajūna, 2 Kaksaputī, 3 Kalpadruma, 2 Kāmadhenu, 3 Sabhāva, and 5 Tattva

The *Vaisnava-Tantras*—75 Tantra, 205 Upatantra, 20 Kalpa, 8 Samhitā, 1 Arnavaka, 5 Kaksapūta, 3 Cūlāmani, 2 Cintāmani, 2 Uddīśa, 2 Dāmara, 1 Yāmala, 5 Purāna, 3 Tattvabodha vimānsinī, 2 Amrtatarpana (?)

The *Saura-Tantra*—30 Tantra, 96 Tattva (?), 4 Samhitā, 2 Upasamhitā, 5 Purāna, 10 Kalpa, 2 Kaksaputī, 3 Tattva, 3 Vīmānsinī, 5 Cūdāmani, 2 Dāmara, 2 Yāmala, 5 Uddāla, 2 Avatāra, 2 Uddisa, 1 Amṛta, 3 Darpana, 3 Kalpa

The *Gāṇapatiya-Tantra*—50 Tantra, 25 Upatantra, 2 Purāna, 2 Amṛta, 3 Sāgara, 3 Darpana, 5 Amṛta, 9 Kalpakā, 3 Kaksaputī, 2 Vīmānsinī, 2 Tattva, 2 Uddisa, 3 Cūlāmani, 3 Cintāmani, 1 Dāmara, Candra-yāmala, 8 Pañcarātra

In the 7th chapter there is a sixfold classification of the Tantrik Sādhana (fols. 38a-40b) from various points of view—

I *Vatuka-mata*—According to it the Vidyās in the six āmnāyas are enumerated as—(1) *Pūrva*—Gāyatrī, Aindrī, Brahmavidyā, Gandharva, Mahāganapati, Ardhanārīśvari, Mrtyuñjaya, Śrutidharī, Mātrkā, Sarasvatī, Canda-yogesvari, Śāmbhavi, Śrīparāparā, Kāmarājesvari, Tripura-bhairavi, Caitanya-bhairavi, Rudra-śakti, Kāmesvari, Mahā-tripura-bhairavi, Aghora-

bhāṇavī, Īṣṭurīa-Nikānta-bhāṇavī, Annapūrṇā Kāśikā, Śivā Bhogavatī, (ii) *Pascima*—Kubjikā, Śaṅkaraśāstrī Kāvya-śāstrī, Kala-saṅkarsinī, Mahāvīdyā, Saṅgī, Mālī, (iii) *Uttara*—Cāmudā, Ratnavīdyā, Siddhavidyā (iv) *Ārdhva*—Māra Mādhavī, Ramā, Dhanadā, Savarī, Duṅgā, Renukā, (v) *Ārdhva*—Sānāyā sundarī, Rājāñjeyā Mahā-sāmañjeyā-vidyā, (vi) *Pātāla*—Yak-kinnaī, Siddhi, Putanā, Kavacā, Kusmāṇinī

II *Mahāmūrti-mata*—(i) *Pūva*—Lopā, Agastya Mahā Mahā II, Agastya-vidyā II, Candali, the lord of the North, Agastya-vidyā III, the lord of Nandi Sūtra, Viṣṇu, Duṅgā, (ii) *Dakṣiṇa*—Vāgavādīnī, Cāṇḍalī, Susukhī Mātanginī, Māheśvarī, (iii) *Pascima*—Rājā-mātanginī, Laghu-vāhī, Sūtirakāṇḍī, Śivā-vāhī Paduā, Vāhī, pālukā, Jambu-kikkikā Śukī, Vāgavī, Śivānā, Mahā Kīlānī, Ksemakā, (iv) *Uttara*—Sūmūrti, Pālukā, Varāhī (v) Pālukā Śīma-mahā-timūdvatī, Kālamāyā, Cāmudā, (v) *Ārdhva*—Soṣṭī, Śīma-parā vidyā, Cāṇḍa-rūpinī, Śiva-sāmbhava-(vidyā), (vi) *Pātāla*—

III *Āmnāya*-division—(i) *Pūva*—64 tantras, 670 (?) upatantras, (ii) *Dakṣiṇa*—400 tantras, 375 upatantras, (iii) *Pascima*—400 tantras, 90 upatantras, (iv) *Uttara*—25 tantras, 304 upatantras (v) *Ārdhva*—64 tantras, 85 upatantras, (vi) *Pātāla*—100 tantras, 700 upatantras

IV *Dakṣāmnāya*—(i) *Pūva*—Vidyā called *Lamayā* लमयाय, Śrīvidyā, Bāla-tripurā, Annapūrnā, 10 tantras, 5 upatantras, (ii) *Pascima*—Vagālā, Mahiśaghnā, Mahālakṣmī with 8 tantras and 9 upatantras issuing from the mouth of Dakṣa, Mahāśarasvatī, Vāgavādīnī, Pratyamgīrā, Bhavānī, (iii) *Uttara*—20 tantras, and 8 upatantras, Kālikā, Tārā, Mātanginī, Bhāṇavī, Chinnamastā, Dhūmāvatī [100 tantras, 9 upatantras], (iv) *Dakṣiṇa*—20 tantras, 3 upatantras, Parā-vidyā of 22 kinds, (v) *Pātāla*—Nāgasakti, 9 tantras, 2 upatantras, The *ārdhva* division has been dropped through some mistake of the copyist, probably the portion within brackets refers to that *āmnāya*

V *Darsana-paryāya*—(i) *Pūva*—Śākta with 100 tantras and 8 upatantras, (ii) *Dakṣiṇa*—Śaiva with 50 tantras and 5 upatantras, (iii) *Pascima*—Vaiṣṇava with (*tattva*) tantras and upatantras of the same number, (iv) *Uttara*—Gāṇapa with 70 tantras and 3 upatantras, (v) *Ārdhva*—Saura with 12 tantras and 10 upatantras and (vi) *Pātāla*—Bauddha with 100 tantras and 63 upatantras

This division follows the *Hādī-mata* but according to the *Kāśī*, Śaiva is in the *East*, Vaiṣṇava in the *South*, Gāṇapa in the *West*, Saura in the *North*, Śākta in the *upper* [and Bauddha in the *nether*] *āmnāya*

III *Brahmayāmala*

I have referred to this palm leaf MS more than once in the first two articles. It contains important materials for the history of the Tantrik literature and this is why I have thought it fit to deal at length with some chapters of the text which appeared to me to be interesting from that point of view. The MS is dated 172 Nepal *Samvat* (=1052 A D)—the writing is old hooked Newari [cf H. P. Sastri, *Nepal Catalogue* II p 60] but the text probably is a compilation of the 8th century A D (cf *ante*, p 7).

In the first *patala* of the work, called *Aksara vidhāna*—the *Īsvara* relates the origin of the Tantras. He says that he worshipped the Lord *Śrīkantha* devotedly for thousands of years and *Śrīkantha* being thus propitiated communicated to him the great store of spiritual knowledge in a versified language.

ज्ञानौघस्तु समाख्यात पदवम्बजनेन (?) तु ।

श्रीकण्ठय प्रसादनं सर्वोऽयं परिणतो मम ॥

The *Īsvara* then tells his consort—"I gave you that knowledge out of kindness but you communicated it to your followers without my permission. You were therefore cursed by me for having thus abused the sacred knowledge. But when you implored and begged for pardon I ordered you to go and incarnate on earth and to come back to me after worshipping me. Thereafter you incarnated yourself in the house of the Brahmin Meghadatta in the village of Kanavīra near Prayāga. There you worshipped me for thirteen years and attained spiritual perfection by propitiating me in the form of a *linga*."

ततोऽवतीर्णं महाक्ये प्रयागं यं समीपतः ।

कण्वीरे महायामि मेघदत्तगृहे शुभे ॥

शक्तिकां तत्र सञ्जातां तत्र नाम न संशयः ।

ततो महान्वया भक्त्या बुद्धिसम्पन्नया हृदः ॥

आराधितो महादेवि सततं लिङ्गपूजया ।

तत्र दशोदशे वर्षे सिद्धास्थं शक्तिं न यद्वा (?) ॥

खेचरत्नमवाप्नोषि सम्यातो च समाप्तिकः ।

The *Īsvara* then narrates the secret knowledge as it was communicated by *Śrīkantha*. "The supreme energy (*parāśakti*) of the ultimate being, the *Śiva*, assumed the form of desire (*icchā*). The *bindu* was energised by this desire and from it the pure spiritual knowledge emanated. *Sadāsiva* represents this knowledge in its plenitude and from him the creation

started This knowledge was communicated in 125 thousand *anustup* verses by Āmīta to others and through generations to Śrīkantha Śrīkantha communicated it to others in amplified versions in eras of śloka, and I will communicate in my turn to you exactly the 125 thousand of verses which I received from him ”

श्रीकण्ठेन महान् प्रोक्त भूत्वा सदाशिवपदात् ।
 सरहस्य महादेवि शृणुष्व कायमानसा ॥
 अचिन्त्यं पराशक्तिं शिवस्य परमात्मन ।
 इच्छानासेन सञ्जातं तथा विन्दुप्रबोधित ॥
 प्रबुद्धस्य ततो विन्दो ज्ञानौघं निष्कलं तत ।
 अभिन्यक्तो महादेवि अकस्मात् सन्निविष्टः ॥
 ज्ञानसम्पूर्णदेहेषु सदाशिवपदे स्थित ।
 तस्मात् सदाशिवो तव हृदयेभूत पुन ॥
 तत्त्वमाला स्वभावतः ।
 लोकस्य हितकाम्यया श्रुतवाक्येन सुव्रत ॥
 निबन्धन्त समासेन ज्ञानौघं विमलात्मक ।
 अनुष्टुप् कन्दोर्ध्वेन सपादेन सहात्मना
 लक्षसंख्येन सन्तुष्टान् क्रियात्मक ॥
 परापरिणतं देवेन श्रीकण्ठाय प्रभावित ।
 सपादनक्षसंख्यातं मया ज्ञानं यथार्थतः ।
 तथापि ज्ञानद्रष्टाश्च सम्प्रवक्ष्यामि साम्प्रत ॥

The Īśvara then tells his consort about the various collections of these verses which would be communicated in different parts of the country. “The Bhairava communicated to Krodhī Bhairava 125 thousand śloka. The Kapāla Bhairava will make a collection of 24,000 verses and communicate it to a Brahmin of the Kurukṣetra. Padmabhairava will communicate a collection of 24 thousand to Devadatta born in the Odra country. From him the following 14 disciples will receive the knowledge —

(1) Rakta-Bhairava, (2) Jvālā, (3) Helā, (4) Vāma and (5) Vijaya—both born in Madhyadeśa as Atharvan, (6) Sisamsa—born in Saurāstra in Sūdra family, (7) Gajakarna, (8) Canda—born in the Sindhu country, (9 and 10) Sisamsa and Gajakarna—both Kṣatriya princes, (11) Yajña soma—(?) an Atharvan Brahmin, (12)? (13)?, (14)? The last of them a Brahmin will worship the goddess Br̥hodarī in the outskirts of a village called Br̥hodarī, after the name of the goddess and will attain spiritual

He will get the sacred lore from Padmabhārava, attain perfection and become the maker of Tantras ”

The 3rd Chapter of the *Brahmīyāmala* called *Siotanūnaya* is of great interest for the classification of the Tantras. This chapter has been referred to above, and partially utilised, cf p 5. On being questioned by his consort, the Deva (=Siva) explains the three traditions (*śiōtas*) called *Daksina*, *Vāma* and *Madhyama*. These traditions follow the three *Sūktis* of the great God which encompass the three worlds and then beings. The *Daksina śiōta* is characterised by the predominance of the *Sattva guṇa* the *Vāma*—by the *Rajas* and the *Madhyama*—by the *Tamas*. Hence those beings that are placed in the *Daksina*—are pure (*suddha*), those that are placed in the *Vāma*—are mixed (*miśra*) and those that are placed in the *Madhyama*—are unclean (*aseśa mala ranjita*)

शक्तिवत् समाख्यात सूक्तिस्तदासन ।
 परापरस्य देवस्य सर्वकार्यार्थसाधन ।
 तामिर्व्याप्तमिदं सर्वं वैलोक्य सचराचर ।
 पशूना पतयन्नेव तामिर्व्याप्तं न संशय ।
 दक्षिणाधिष्ठितं कश्चित् वामयाधिष्ठितो पर ।
 मध्यमाधिष्ठितं कश्चित् तथा जन्तु व्यवस्थित ।
 सूत्वाधिकस्तथा कश्चित् कश्चिदैव रजोविक ।
 तमोधिकस्तथा कश्चिच्छक्तिमेदन संस्थित ।
 दक्षिणाधिष्ठितं शुद्धो मिश्रो वामाययस्तथा ।
 अशेषमलसन्दोद्धरञ्जितो मध्यमाश्रय ॥ (fol 160)

The Tantras also follow these three traditions and may be classified accordingly. The Tantras of each class follow a particular line of *Sādhana* (*kriyā bheda*). Hence there are three classes of Tantras—*Daksina* or *suddha*, *Vāma* or mixed (*vimisra*) and *Madhyama* or *asuddha*. Seven crores of *Mantras* belong to the *Daksina* tradition, seven crores to the *Vāma* tradition and three and a half crores to the *Madhyama* tradition. These are said to have been promulgated by Gurus like Śrīkantha and others.

(1) The *Daksina* tradition issued forth from the right mouth of Siva. It is classified according to the four *pīṭhas* and also as pure and impure. The four *pīṭhas* are *Vidyāpīṭha*, *Mantra*-, *Mudrā*-, and *Mandala*. There are eight Bhairavas belonging to the *Vidyāpīṭha*—Svacchanda, Krodha, Unmatta, Ugra, Kapāli, Jhankāra, Sekhara and Vijaya. The eight Yāmas belonging to this *pīṭha* are—*Rudrayāmala*, *Skanda*-, *Brahma*-, *Viṣṇu*-, *Yama*-,

14

and protected by it It is *Jñāna* because everything can be known with its help and it is *Tantra* because everything is always preserved and perpetuated by it

आङ् भावस्तु(?) समन्ताच्च गत्यतेत्यागमी मत ।
 शास्यते वायते यस्मात् तस्माच्छास्त्रमुदाहृतम् ।
 ज्ञायते नयते येन ज्ञान तेनाभिधीयते ।
 तनुते ज्ञायते नित्य तन्मनिस्य विद्वद्वा ॥

The Tantra, first communicated by Śiva came down through tradition It is Āgama, with the characteristics of *Chandas* It is learnt by the *Panditas* for the benefit of the listeners but it is really meant for the *sādhakas*

कुन्दोलक्षणसंसिद्धमागमैत्यभिधीयते ।
 श्रोतवत्कृत्यार्थेन स च ज्ञेयस्तु पण्डितै ॥

The composition (*sambandha*) is of two kinds—general (*sādhārana*) and particular (*asādhārana*) All other Tantras belong to the former class as they are well known whereas the present Tantra is *asādhārana* as it is not well known While narrating a Tantra four things are to be kept in mind—denomination (*abhidhāna*), cause (*numitti*) maker (*karitā*) and extent (*parimāna*) First of all the question of necessity (*prayojana*) arises and then the question of the maker

स च साधारणी स्त्रीकस्त्वन्तोऽसाधारणी भवेत् ।
 स वै तन्त्र प्रसिद्धस्तु साधारण स उच्यते ॥
 अस्य तन्त्रस्य य सिद्धस्तदासाधारण विदुः ।
 इदानीं सप्रवक्ष्यामि सन्त्वन्तोऽद्वैत यङ्गवेत् ॥
 अभिधाननिमित्तञ्च कर्तार परिमाणकम् ।
 प्रयोजन कथित्वादी पञ्चाङ्गता तु वर्णयेत् ॥

What is the denomination of this Tantra? Its denomination is *Pīṅgalāmata* It follows the *Pratīsthākalpa* called the *Jayadratha* (*yāmala*?) belonging to the *Brahmayāmala* It was composed for the goddess *Pīṅgalā Bhagavān Śrīkantha* is its maker and its extent is 8,000 verses It is again of two kinds—*Kāmarūpī* and *Uddiyānī* This is *Kāmarūpī* Its necessity is to promulgate the method of establishing the *linga*, both manifested and unmanifested

अस्य तन्त्रस्य का सञ्ज्ञा, पिङ्गलान्तसञ्ज्ञा । प्रतिष्ठाकल्प जयद्रथाधिकार ब्रह्मयामलस्यानुयायीति च पिङ्गला-
 भद्राङ्गाया निमित्तम् । का कर्ता, भगवान् श्रीकण्ठनाथ कर्ता । कियन्त परिमाणा, अष्ट सङ्ख्यमिति ।

स च द्विविधः कामरूपोऽयानी च । अत्र च कामरूपं किं योजनम् । यत्रादत्तं तद्विप्रतिष्ठानलक्षणम् ।
परिज्ञापनार्थं-प्रयोजनमिति ।

When the form of the *linga* is manifested it is *vyakta*, when it is unmanifested it is *avyakta* and when it possesses both the characteristics it is *vyaktāvyakta*

Then follows a logical disquisition

प्रागेवाभिसम्बन्धो वक्तव्यः । स च द्विविधः । अवतायावतारकालक्षणं सम्बन्धं व्यञ्जयञ्चकालक्षणं सम्बन्धं, प्रकाश्यं प्रकाशकालक्षणं सम्बन्धयेति । तदावतायावतारकालक्षणं सम्बन्धं उच्यते । आचायस्य च शास्त्रस्यावतार्यशास्त्रस्याचायोवतारकमिति । व्यञ्जयञ्चकालक्षणं सम्बन्धं उच्यते । लक्षणस्य लब्धं व्यञ्जनम् । लक्ष्यं लक्षणं व्यञ्जकमिति । प्रकाश्यं प्रकाशकालक्षणं सम्बन्धं उच्यते । शब्दस्यार्थं प्रकाशोर्थस्य शब्दं प्रकाशकमिति ।

The seven Tantras which follow the *Brahmayāmala* are *Daundāyam*, *Pāricāham*, *Sarasvatamatam*, *Jayadratha*, *Phetkāra*, *Raktādyā*(?) and *Lampatādyā* (?) Amongst these the *Jayadratha* again consists of seven sūtras—*Sūtra*, *Uttarasūtra*, *Śaktisūtra*, *Kṛyāsūtra*, *Vimalajñāna* and *Sarasandoha*

दौवास्य पैचिक चैव सारम्बतमत तथा ।
जयद्रथश्च फेतकार पञ्चम परिकीर्तित ।
रक्ताद्य लपटायञ्च सप्तधा ब्रह्मयामल ।
एतेषा सप्तविधसूत्रजातीना मध्ये किमिति—
जयद्रथमेतत् जयद्रथमपि सप्तविधसूत्र—
सूत्र सूत्ररसूत्रश्च शक्तिसूत्र क्रियाद्वयम् ।
विमलज्ञानसञ्ज्ञा च सर्वसन्दोह सप्तमम् ॥

The present text, the *Pingalāmata*, belongs to the *Kalpārtha* subdivision of the *Kṛyāsūtra*. The *Kṛyāsūtra*, which is one of the seven classes of Tantras mentioned above is of five kinds and amongst these the *Kalpārtha* is an important class

विनागार्वनरक्षक(?) मन्त्रध्यानसमन्विता ।
कल्पार्थसन्निभुक्ता च पञ्चधा तु क्रिया मता ।

एतेषां पञ्चविधक्रियासूत्राणां मध्ये किमिति । कल्पार्थसन्निभुक्त-सूत्रमेतत् । कल्पार्थमिति किम् ?
कल्पसार्थकं कल्पार्थं, कल्पार्थेन सत्यकृतं कल्पार्थसन्निभुक्तं । अथवा

मन्त्रदीक्षाविशुद्धस्तु स्वाधिकारपदान्वित ।
कुर्याद्विज्ञाश्रय मन्त्रौ शाला लिङ्गं सलक्षणम् ।

मन्त्रमपि लिङ्गं यतो लिङ्गाश्रयात् प्राप्तं देवत्वं विष्टपैरपि । अतः सिद्धार्थकस्य लिङ्गमेव समाश्रयेत् ।

The concluding portion of the Introductory chapter deals with the methods of explanation, the time suitable for it and some introductory rites

The first chapter the *Prasnaprakarana* begins with a definition of *linga* and a description of the *Ācāryas* who are competent to worship it

लक्ष वै हेतुसिद्ध लक्षण भावसम्मतम् ।
 शास्त्रोक्त लक्षण चापि प्रमाण दोषमिष्यते (?) ॥
 उन्मिनोति पदोत्पन्न विभाग लिङ्गरूपकम् ।
 लीयते प्रलयान्ते च अङ्गतो (?) सृजते पुन ॥
 न्ययनाङ्गमनाच्चैव लिङ्गमित्यभिधीयते ।
 लिङ्ग वा चिद्गमित्याङ्ग चिद्ग वै सुद्रमेव च ॥
 मुद्रा प्रत्ययक्रीडोक्तौ छातीनुगृह्यहेतुकम् ।
 लिङ्गवाचकमेतद्विनान्यथाश्रयण व्रतम् ॥
 तस्मिन् द्विविध प्रोक्त चलाचलविमोचदम् ।
 भोगद यङ्गवेत्तौकि शिविनागमत शृणु ॥

Then follows the distinction between *sādhāraṇa* and *viśeṣa*—

विश्वोत्तरगतैर्नैव मगधाच्चापरेण नु ।
 हिमाद्रे दक्षिणे भागे पञ्चानात् पूर्वतस्तथा ।
 आर्यावर्त्त इति ख्यातस्तद्गवाचार्यसाधकौ ।
 अग्रजन्मकुलोद्भूतो सर्वसाधारणो यत ।
 विशेषणश्च तथा ब्रूमि अग्रणी शक्तिवाचक ।
 शक्त्यन्त जनित जन्मजन्मायेत्यभिधीयते ।
 कपूर्वाष्टविनिर्मुक्तो अन्यदेशोद्भववापि ।
 कामरूपकच्छकाश्मरी कालिङ्गी कोङ्कणोद्भवौ ।
 काश्चिकीश्वरका वै सौराष्ट्रजावपि वर्जयेत ।
 किमर्थं चेत तत्सिद्धार्थं मोक्षार्थं सर्वज्ञौ शुभौ ।
 शिवव्रतधराचार्यो नाति दीर्घोतिङ्गस्तक ।
 प्रभाचेन न द्वीनाङ्गेन चापि अविवाशक ।
 सम्पूर्णवयवैर्द्विविधचित्तो न शठ क्वचित् ।
 न मनो भान्त वै चित्तो रूप वै गौरस्तुतमम् ।
 लक्षलक्षस्युक्त प्रतिष्ठा न वेदक ।
 विद्यावास्तुविधानशी लिङ्गसूत्रविधानवित् ।
 ज्योतिषे च कृताभ्यास योगाभ्यासरत सदा ।
 साधको वासमान म्याद मङ्गल्यो नेति वा शृणु ॥

गृहस्थो गृहस्थोयोगात् यागशीलो विमानविन् ।
 उद्यमासत्त्वसम्पन्नं शिष्यज्ञाबुद्धिर्ज्ञानम् ।
 श्रेष्ठोऽसौ सर्वकार्येषु अवाशं च विप्रिषत् ।
 शिवभक्तो नुरक्तश्च गुह्यमस्मत् शिष्यराट् ।

Those who are unfit for the worship of the Linga are described in the following verses —

न काणो बधिरोन्मश्च वोटकणा
 छिन्ननासागुलिपादं क्रूरो नो नाधिकाग्रजः ।
 न हीनापूर्णकायसु ॥

The materials for making a *linga* are of various kinds—

शैलं तक्षुं मृदं चैव सौवर्णं ताम्ररौप्यकम् ।
 चैत्यकास्त्रतापुमं च कासीसायसजान्यपि ।
 अष्टांगीगुह्यजं चैव रत्नजं मणिसम्भवम् ।
 तडेतुस्थानकं
 मेरुमन्दरकैलाशगन्धो विपुलनीलकौ ।
 निषधह्रिमकूटश्च सपाशोध्ययः शङ्खवान् ।
 श्वेतको भूधरा ह्येते महाचेतेश्वरा स्मृताः ।

The places fit for the installation of the *linga* are the seven *kulaparvatas* and the banks of the rivers issuing from them up to the distance of 10 *yojanas*

समिद्धानां प्रवक्ष्यामि यं यथा सम्भवानि हि ।
 उज्जयन्तो हरिश्चन्द्र शक्तिमान् कुलपर्वताः ।
 नद्यो यासुहिनिष्क्रान्ता वनानि तु ।
 नद्युभयतटे रम्ये उपपूर्वे नवानि वै (?) ।
 एतेषां बाह्यतः स्थानं योजनानि दशैव च ॥

V Jayadrathayāmala

The *Jayadrathayāmala* to which we have referred more than once is one of the most important and extensive tantras. It is divided into 4 parts called *satka*, each containing 6,000 verses. The complete work is thus a *caturvimsatī sāhasra*. The complete text of the 1st, 3rd and 4th *ṣatkas* and an incomplete text of the 2nd are preserved in the Darbar Library. As the MS of the 4th part is of the end of the 12th century, and as it presupposes the existence of the first three *ṣatkas* we can assume

that the text is fairly old. The *Jayadrathayāmala* is also called *Snascheda*, and as this *Snascheda* is referred in a Cambodian inscription of the 9th century (cf ante, p 15) the text was composed in India before that date. It is not however certain if all the 4 *sathas* were known at that time. The *Jayadrathayāmala* however contains much important materials for the history of the Tantrik literature.

Satha I (cf Sastri, *Darbar Library Cat*, II, pp 1ff)—Folia 393, Slokas 6,000 written in Newari character, MS dated 848=1723 A D Colophon

इति भैरवस्तोतसि विद्यापीठे श्रीजयद्रथयामले महातन्त्रे चतुर्विंशतिसाहस्रे प्रथमषटके श्रीकाल सङ्घर्षेणा विद्यासम्प्रदाय षट्कमाह्वानादिवर्णन पञ्चाशत्तम पटले इति समाप्तम् श्रीजयद्रथयामले प्रथम षट्कमिति शुभम् ।

The 35th chapter of this *satha* called *Sambandhāvātāna* contains interesting information on the history of Tantrik literature

सामान्य च विशेष च साधारणविशेषत ।
विशेषतरसत्यञ्च शास्त्रमुक्त चतुर्विध ।
इतिहासपुराणानि गणित काव्यमाटक ।
हन्दासि शब्दशास्त्रानि सामान्यविषयाणि तु ।
सर्वेषां वर्णिकाणां तु सामान्यश्रवणादिह ।
श्रुतिस्मृत्युपनिषदो मन्त्रसूत्र प्रकल्पक ।
आन्वीचिक च विज्ञान साधारण विशेषग ।
द्विज ते जायन्ते नाधिकारिण ।
सौर शैव पञ्चरात्र प्रमाण विमल मत ।
अथर्व साख्ययोगं च बौद्धमारुहतादिक ।
विशेषाख्य उत्तम विमलसमयात् स्थिति ।
भैरव वज्रयान च गुह्यादुक्तसमाहृत ।
भूततन्त्रादि तन्त्र च विशेषतरमुच्यते ।
एव चतुर्विधं शास्त्रं लौकिकाद्य च पञ्चधा ।
लौकिक वैदिकाध्यात्ममतिमार्गमथार्थव ।
फलमेदविभिन्नं च शास्त्रमेव तु पञ्चधा ।
एवमेतानि शास्त्राणि सामान्यादीनि यानि तु ।
न चाभिधातुं युगपच्छक्यते तानि कैश्चित् ।
युगपद्भक्तुमशक्यत्वाच्चतुर्थमथ तत् स्थित ।
वाच्यमेकदमं शास्त्रं सामान्याद्यामनुक्रमात् ।

लक्षणादस्य गान्धस्य
 अथ सामान्यविशेष सामन्तगणपुत्र प्रिये
 शाखावरणभिन्नस्य स्मृत्यतरगतस्य तु ।
 अथ वै शेषशास्त्रस्य शैवसिद्धान्तरूपिण्य ।
 शिवरुद्रभेदसञ्ज्ञ क्रमो वाक्यो विपश्चिता ।
 विशेषतरशास्त्रस्य चतु पञ्चगतस्य तु ।

On the question of *Sambandha* and *Pitha*—

श्रीलवक्तविभेदेन तच्च विश्वेवमर्षित ।
 सबोधयमभिन्नोपि स्थानभेदाद्विभेदयते ।
 महच्चान्तराख्यं च तथा वातरनेव च ।
 दिव्य मिश्रमदिव्यं च षोढा सबधलक्ष्ण ।
 चिदचिच्छक्तिसबधं सहानुक्तो दृग्गात्मभि ।
 क्रियाधर्मप्रदेशात्मानं तथाख्यां प्रकीर्त्तित ।
 सदाशिवस्य वीराणां समादेशं विवर्त्तिता ।
 बोध्यबोधकसबन्धं प्रीच्यते वातरात भवा ।
 सदाशिवपदावस्थो वाधकाद्यो मदन्तिक ।
 सबधो दिव्यसञ्ज्ञस्तु मिश्रश्च सु नटैविक ।
 अ दन्त्यसुनिमानुदसबन्धोप गुरुक्रमात् ।
 योसौ परापर प्राक्ता देव सदाशिव ।
 यागात्मानं तु वीर्यं पञ्चमन्त्रमहातनु ।
 व्यक्ताव्यक्तमथ तस्य व्यक्तानां तु चतुष्टय ।
 ज्ञानज्ञेयमय चास्य व्यक्ताव्यक्तं च पञ्चम ।
 पञ्चवक्त्ररूप(१)सौ वीर प्रसन्नस्त्रीतसा स्थित ।

The pithas are four—*Mantrapitha*, *Vidyāpitha*, *Mudrāpitha* and *Mandalapitha*

The 36th chapter called *Sūtranirnaya* contains an enumeration of the Tantras of various traditions The Tantras of the *Vidyāpitha* are —

सर्ववीरसमायोग सिद्धायामिश्वरो मत ।
 पञ्चान्तं च विशाद्य योगिनी जालशम्बर ।
 विद्याभेद शिरःक्षेद महासम्बोहन तथा ।
 तथोत्तर महारौद्र रुद्रयामलमेव च ।
 ब्रह्मयामलसञ्ज्ञं च तथान्य विष्णुयामल ।
 दश तु पञ्चदश मत ।
 रुद्रभेदो हरिस्तन्दगीतमीयामलान्वित ।

The last chapter of the 1st *satka* (41st chapter) deals with the *lāmala*, *Mungulā*, *istaka* and the lineage of the ancient *isīs* who promulgated the Tantras. The eight *lāmala*s have been mentioned in other places too, but the *Brahmayāmala* is the source of all (ब्रह्मयामला तु सर्वेषां आसृज ब्रह्मयामल)

The eight *Mangalas* are—*Bhūṣṇamangulā*, *Candīgarbha*, *Sānī mangala*(?), *Sumangulā*, *Surumangulā*, *Vṛjayā*, *Ugramanjalā*, and *Sadbhāva mangalā*

The *Cukrāstakas* are—*Svarucakṛa*, *Vānanādī*, *Guhyābhya* *Kālacakra*, *Saura*, *Hṛya*(?) and *Soma*

The *Sikhāstaka*—*Sukhī*, *Munda*(?), *Mahacchusmā*, *Bhānavi*, *Samvān*, *Prapañca*, *Mātibhūdi* and *Rudrālālī*

The *isīs* are—(1) *Dhivīśā* *Sanaka* *Viṣṇu*, *Kapila* *Kāśapa*, *Kuru*, *Samvarta* *Sankhapāla*, *Bhānava*, (2) *Bhṛgu*, *Śvetonivīśa*(?), *Viśvāmītra*, *Gautama*, *Uśāla*, *Yājñavalkya*, *Vibhāmnda*, (3) *Kuśāla*, *Kundana*, *Kamka*, *Kekara*, *Kānana*, *Ksamī*, *Kātarākṣa*, *Samvarta*, *Manākhyā*, (4) *Vindu*, *Savindu*, *Sātātapa*, *Parāsara*, *Āpastamba*, *Bubhukhyā* a(?), *Kātyayana*, these are mentioned in the *Mangalāstula* as promulgators of Tantras

(5) *Ulūka*, *Sthūlanīdī*, *Hamsa*, *Hamsakha*, *Suka*, *Manu*, *Pitaksaka*—are the promulgators, of *Cukrāstaka*

(6) *Vaśīṣṭha*, *Dakṣa*, *Sukla*, *Kanaka*, *Kokila*, *Suka*, *Viśvabhū*, *Kāśyapa* and *Sveta* promulgated the *Śivābhya*

(7) *Bīhaspatī*, *Ghamṭa*, *Kamkara*, *Syāmaka*, *Sikhī*, *Karnajata* and *Dhīsa*

(8) *Hamsa*, *Soma*, *Anuloma*, *Viloma*, *Lomaka*, *Sata*, *Jata* and *Vālmika*

Satka II (cf *Sastri, Darbar Library Catalogue*, I, p 175)—preserved in a copy dated 762 (i.e., 1642 A.D.) There is a very interesting *śloka* at the beginning—

लेखिकाना गृह गत्वा कुक्षकारगृह तु वा ।

तत्र ततपतिसि साई यजित परमेश्वरीम् ।

The names of chapters are

1 The first chapter of *Kālikātānta* 2 *Sankarsanārūpaka vidhāna*, 3 *Humkāraṇa vidhī* of *Kālasankarsanī*, 4 *Carcikā vidhī*, 5 *Ānanda vidhāna*, 6 *Dambarakālī vidhī*, 7 *Yamakalpa*, 8 *Gahanasvarī vidhī*, 9 *Ekatarā vidhī*, 10 *Savaśavari*, 11 *Vajravatī*, 12 *Raksākālī*, 13 *Indīvarīkālīkā*, 14 *Dhanadākālīkā*, 15 *Ramanī*, 16 *Īśanakālī*, 17 *Mantramātā*, 22 *Jivakālīhrdayavidhī*, 23 *Saptāksarāhīdaya*, 24

Āramantravidhī, 25 Rksakarmī, 27 Bhairavādāna, 28 Kāntakī,
29 Vīryakālī, 30 Prajñakālī 31 Saptārṇavā, 32 Kāśhālayavādhāna,
33 Mantroddhāra, 34 Mantrāṅganārdeśa, 35 Dhvānārcanādnikāra,
36 Prathamapratihāra Dvītiya, Tītiya, Catuṣṭha, 37 Śrīśaṅkhaśira
sādhana vidhī, 38 Śikhāsādhana, 39 Kavaca, 40 Asthāśādhana 41
Siddhīlākṣmī vidhāna

Satka III—The third *satka* of the Javadrathavāmalā is preserved in
a MS of about the 17th century, the writing is Nēvarī, cf ante, p 7, n 2
The total number of pages is 215 The colophon runs thus—

एवमेतत् सप्त व्यात तन्मनेतदनुत्तमम् ।
वसिष्ठेन पुराधात नर । रात्रैरपि ॥
ब्रह्मणा मत्समीपे तु शिरश्छेदं महाबलम् ।
बहुमन्त्रगणाकोर्णं तवाद्य प्रकटीकृतम् ॥
तदास्य पश्चिमे जन्म ज्ञातव्यं नरसत्तमे ॥
यदाकरगतं तन्म शिरश्छेदमनुत्तमम् ।
वृक्षसाम्राज्यगतं तस्य स्वर्गज्ञानं प्रवर्तते ॥

इति भैरवज्ञातसि विद्यापाठे शिरश्छेदे जयद्रथशाली महातन्त्रे चतुर्विंशतिसाहस्रे (effaced)

The chapters are the following

- 1 Pīśnāvātārā
- 2 Trailokyadāmaracakre mantroddhāravīdhī, 3 Trailokyadāmara
cakre nyāsavīdhī, 4 -dhyāna, 5 Vyāpti 6 Angoddhāra 7 Yāgādī
vīdhī, 8 Sādhana-vīdhī
- 9 10 Pratyangirā vīdhī
- 11 Cakreśvari vīdhau mantroddhāra, 12 Dhyāna, 13 Dīksābhūseka,
14 Sādhana-prakarana, 15 Kundalesvarīvīdhī
- 16 Ghoratarācakra sahasrākṣarāyām mantroddhāravīdhī, 17 Vyāpti,
18 Dhyāna, 19 Caturvimsatī dīksāvīdhī These are—
- (1) Tattvadīksā, (2) Kāladīksā, (3) Bhuvanadīksā, (4) Padadīksā,
(5) Varna-, (6) Mantra-, (7) Śakti-, (8) Bindu, (9) Nāda, (10)
Prāna-, (11) Jīva, (12) Cora, (13) Sparsa, (14) Vedha, (15) Dhātā(?)-,
(16) Vāstra, (17) Ghāta, (18) Sadyonirvāna, (19) Nirvāna, (20)
Dīksādvādasavīdhī, (21) Ālokadīksā, (22) Jñāna-
- 20 Ghoratarā yāga, 21 pātālasiddhī, 22 cakravīdhī
- 23 Yoginīcakre sambarotpattī, 24 -sāmānyahṛdayoddhāra, 25 Yoginī
sañcāre cakroddhāra, 26 siddhayoga, 27 (?) 28 kālajñāna, 29
paramacakravīdhāna, 30 sāmānyavīseśa 31 -samayācāre cestāvīdhāna,
32 kālacakrasatkoṭpattī

33 *Ayapalesyakālpyavidhi*, 34 *Devisvarūpanrūpanavidhi*, 35 *Bhāsākrama*, 36 *Avatārakrama*, 37 *Kālikakrama*, 38 *Devatakrama*, 39 *Vratavidhi*

Satka IV—The fourth *satka* exists in the Darbar Library in an older MS which probably belonged to Kanoj and was copied in the end of the 12th century or in the beginning of the 13th by a disciple of the *Kulācārya* of King Jayacandra. The colophon runs thus—

P 339b—340a

इति भैरवस्रोतसि विद्यापीठे शिरश्छेद जयद्रथशमले महातन्त्रे चतुर्विंशतिसाहस्रे चतुर्थषट्के
महालक्ष्मीविधौ सिद्धिपटले । समाप्ताय मुद्राष्टके जयद्रथावतारे समाप्तस्य परमरहस्यचतुर्विंशतिसहस्र
सूत्रराजजयद्रथेन्द्र । अधिगतसकलशास्त्रस्य योगिनोद्बन्धवन्दितचरणयुगलस्य विविधविद्योत्तिता तत्करणस्य
महाकारणिकस्य महाराजाधिराज श्रीमन्मयचन्द्र देवपूजितस्य-कुलाचार्य्यश्च धरणीपादेव नामधेयस्य शिष्येण
पण्डित श्रीजीमदेवेन लिखितमिति । शुभमस्तु सर्वसत्त्वानां मङ्गलमहाश्री ।

The names of the various chapters and sections are the following

Mudrākosa, *Sabdakālī vidhi*, *Kālikrama*, *Rābini yāga*, —*sādhana*,
—*cakre kulāvatāra*, *Vyaktinirdeśa*, *abhiseka*, *bhāgyāvaropaphalaṇi*—,
Puraksobha—, *Rābini-cakre vidvesakālī*, —*tattvasavarūpa*, —*vidvesakālī*,
—*sarvakarmakārī* —*saṃgrāmakalpa*, —*saptadaśārnā*, —*mohakālī*
—*bhramaresvarī*, —*cakramelāpaka vidhi* (in 7 sections), —*kālikrama*,
—*kālikākula*, —*kālikula*, —*mahābhāgyodaya*, —*nāgāsani*, —*meghakālī*,
—*priyākālī*, —*pāpāntakī*, —*srambhakālī*, —*kālarātri*, —*kālī*, —*melāpākālī*,
—*nityakālī*, —*paramāksarā*, —*netrakālī*, —*hrdayakālī*, —*ekātarā* —*vāg*
vidhi, —*candarosani*, —*jagatkṣobhakālī*, —*bhairavamālīnī*, —*saṃhara*
cakrodaya, —*kālasamvedanī*, —*siddhaprayoga mañjarī*, —*bhairavānanā*,
—*bhairavavyāpti*, —*nirālambakrama*, —*bhava-amnārabheda* —*ādyayāga*,
—*vīratāṇḍava*, —*pustakārikāra*, —*vyākhyākrama* —*gurusīsyācāra*, —*siddha*
yogēśvarī —*mahālakṣmīcakre devyutpatti-mantroddhāra*

